

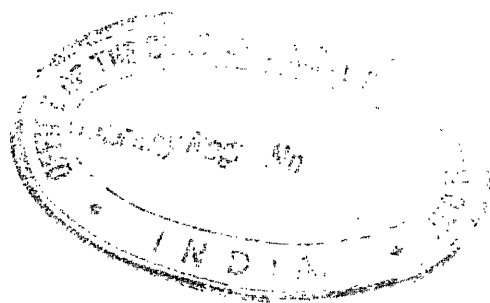
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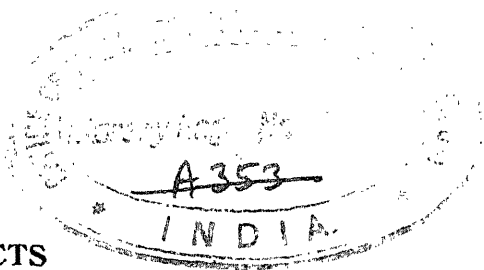
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INDEX TO SUBJECTS
Vol. VIII, 1918.

	PAGE.
Akyab. A Votive Tablet found by Treasure-Hunters at— by San Shwe Bu	39
Andaw Pagoda (Sandoway). The Legend of— by San Shwe Bu	164
Archæological Survey of India, 1913-14 (extract from <i>The Times</i> of London)	54
Archæological Survey, Burma, for 1917-18. Report of the Super- intendent of— Review by the Editor	286
Brahmā in India. Is there any separate Temple dedicated to— by Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E.	171
Buddhism. A reply to Dr. Ross on— by Shwe Zan Aung ..	166
Buddhism. Mahāyāna— by Bhikku Silācāra	15
Buddhism and Bergsonism and U Shwe Zan Aung <i>versus</i> Dr. Ross, by Prof. K. M. Ward	263
Buddhism and Science, by Shwe Zan Aung	99
Buddhist Philosophy of the Real, by G. R. T. Ross	57
Burma Eighty Years Ago. Glimpses of— by J. Stuart ..	1
Burmese Drama, by E. Maung	33
Burmese History. A Comparative Study of— by Saya Thein (in Burmese); translated by the Editor	121
Burmese Linguistics, Correspondence on—C. Otto Blagden ..	52
Burmese Marching Songs. Report on—	181
Burmese Novels. Reviews of—	
James Hla Gyaw's Maung Yin Maung and Ma Mè Ma, by the Editor	63
U Maung Gyi's Maung Hmaing—Part I, by Maung Ba Han, M.A.	64
U Maung Gyi's Maung Hmaing—Parts II, III, by the Editor	180, 286
Saya Ba's Maung Pe Shin and Ma Me Tin—Part I, by the Editor	179

891.0957/2
J. B. R. S.

	PAGE.
U Maung Gyi's Mya Gale, by J. A. Stewart	285
Burmese Poetry. Probable Origin of— by Shwe Zan Aung ..	9
Greater Temples of Pagān. The— by Prof. G. H. Luce ..	189
Historical Documents. Some— (continued from Vol. VI, Part III Page 213) by J. S. Furnivall	40
Karen Language. Phonetic Changes in— by Dr. D. C. Gilmore ..	113
Kya-Khwetsa (Tiger-killing Poem). A. Synopsis of— by Htoon Chan	153
Lacquer Ware Industry—A Notice, by A. P. Morris	163
Marks' (Dr.) Forty-Years in Burma—Review by J. T. Best ..	172
Mon Wedding Speeches and Ritual, by R. Halliday	81
Nibbāna. Buddhist—(An Essay) by the Editor	223
Pali Poetry (A Review) by Bhikkhu Sīlācāra	275
Pottery in Burma, by A. P. Morris	213
Ruins in the District between Chiengmai, Karenni and the Shan States, by J. C. C. Wilson, with a note by Taw Sein Ko ..	159
Sañchi. A Guide to— by Sir John Marshall. Review by Taw Sein Ko	176
Seindakyawthu. Man and Poet, by Maung Ba Han, M.A. ..	176
Shin Uttamagyaw and His Tawla. A Nature Poem III, IV, and V, by U Po Byu (translated by Maung Ba Han, M.A.) 21, 143.	255
Sunlight and Soap, by J. S. Furnivall, I.C.S.	199
Temples of Pāgan. The Greater— by Prof. G. H. Luce ..	189
Twelve-Year Cycle of Burmese Year Names, by Maung Hla, B.A.	270

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INDEX TO AUTHORS

Vol. VIII, 1918.

	PAGE.
Aung, Shwe Zan—Probable Origin of Burmese Poetry ..	9
Buddhism and Science	99
A Reply to Dr. Ross on Buddhism ..	166
Dialogue on Niddāna	233
Best, J. T.—Review on Dr. Marks' Forty-years in Burma ..	172
Blagden, C. Otto—Correspondence on Burmese Linguistics ..	52
Bu, San Shwe—A Votive Tablet Found by Treasure-Hunters at Akyab	39
Legend of Andaw Pagoda, Sandoway ..	164
Byu, Po—Shin Uttamagyaw and His Tawla. A Nature Poem III, IV and V, (Poems translated by Ba Han, M.A.) 21, 143, 255	
Chan, Htoon—A Synopsis of Kya-Khwetsa (Tiger-killing Poem)	153
Furnival, J. S.—Some Historical Documents (continued from Vol. IV, Part III, Page 213)	40
Sunlight and Soap	199
Gilmore, D. C.—Phonetic Changes in the Karen Language ..	113
Halliday, R.—Mon Wedding Speeches and Ritual	81
Han, Ba—Translations of U Po Byu's Shin Uttamagyaw and His Tawla. A Nature Poem III, IV and V 21, 143, 255	
Seindakyawthu. Man and Poet	107
Review of U Maung Gyi's Maung Hmaing—I ..	64
Hla, Maung—The Twelve-Year Cycle of Burmese Year-Names ..	270
Ko, Taw Sein—Notes on Mr. J. C. C. Wilson's Correspondence on the Ruins in the District between Chiengmai, Karenni and the Shan States	159
Is There any Separate Temple Dedicated to Brahmā in India?	171
Review on Sir John Marshall's Guide to Sañchi ..	176

	PAGE.
Luce, G. H.—The Greater Temples of Pagān	189
Maung, E.—Burmese Drama	33
Morris, A. P.—Lacquer Ware Industry. A Notice	163
Pottery in Burma	213
Ross, G. R. T.—Buddhist Philosophy of the Real	57
Silācāra, Bhikkh—Mahāyāna Buddhism	15
Pali Poetry (A Review)	275
Stewart, J. A.—Review of Mya Gale, by the author of Maung Hmaing, &c.	285
Stuart J.—Glimpses of Burma Eighty Years Ago	1
Thein, Saya—A Comparative Study of Burmese History (in Bur- mese) translated by Maung Tin	121
<i>The Times</i> , Extract from—Archæological Survey of India 1913-14	54
Tin, Maung—Review on James Hla Gyaw's Maung Yin Maung and Ma Mè Ma	63
Translation of Saya Thein's Comparative Study of Burmese History	121
Review of Saya Ba's Maung Pe Shin and Ma Me Tin, Part I	179
Review of U Maung Gyi's Maung Hmaing, Parts II, III	180, 286
Buddhist Nibbāna. An Essay	223
Review of the Report of the Superintendent, Arch- æological Survey, Burma, for 1917-18	286
Ward, K. M.—Buddhism and Bergsonism and U Shwe Zan Aung <i>versus</i> Dr. Ross	263
Wilson, J. C. C.—A Correspondence on the Ruins in the District between Cheingmai, Karenni and the Shan States with a Note by Taw Sein Ko	159

THE JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY

APRIL 1918

Volume VIII, PART I

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Glimpses of Burma eighty years ago, by J. Stuart	1
The Probable Origin of Burmese Poetry, by Shwe Zan Aung, B.A. ..	9
Mahāyāna Buddhism, by Bhikkhu Silācāra	15
Shin Uttamagyaw and his Tawla, A Nature Poem III, by U Po Byu (translation by Ba Han, M.A.)	21
The Burmese Drama, by E Maung	33

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

A Votive Tablet found by Treasure-hunters at Akyab, by San Shiwe Bu	39
Some Historical Documents (<i>contd. from</i> Vol. VI, part III, p. 213), by J. S. F.	40
Correspondence on Burmese Linguistics, by C. Otto Blagden ..	52
The Archæological Survey of India, 1913—14. (Extract from the the <i>Times</i> of London)	54
The Buddhist Philosophy of the Real, by G. R. T. Ross ..	57
Burmese Novels,	
1. Maung Yin Maung and Ma Mè Ma by James Hla Gyaw, Review by the <i>Editor</i>	63
2. Maung Hmaing—I. by U Maung Gyi, Review by Ba Han ..	64
List of Publications	68
Proceedings of the Burma Research Society	69
List of Members	75

THE JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY

AUGUST 1918

Volume VIII, PART II.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Mon Wedding Speeches and Ritual, by R. Halliday ..	81
Buddhism and Science, by Shwe Zan Aung, B. A. ..	99
Seindakyawthu: Man and Poet, by Ba Han, M. A. ..	107
Phonetic Changes in the Karen Language, by Dr. D. C. Gilmore..	113
A Comparative Study of Burmese History (in Burmese, translated by the Editor), by Saya Thein	121
Shin Uttamagyaw and His Tawla, A Nature Poem—IV, by Po Byu (translated by B. H.)	143

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

A Synopsis of Kya-Khwetsa (tiger-killing poem), by Htoon Chan	153
Correspondence, by J. C. C. Wilson (note by Taw Sein Ko) ..	159
The Lacquerware Industry, notice by A. P. Morris, B. Sc. ..	163
The Legend of Andaw Pagoda, Sandoway, by San Shwe Bu ..	164
A Reply to Dr. Ross on Buddhism, by Shwe Zan Aung ..	166
Is there any separate Temple dedicated to Brahmā in India? by Taw Sein Ko	171
Dr. Marks' Forty years in Burma, reviewed by J. T. B. ..	172
Sir John Marshall's Guide to Sañchi, by T. S. K. ..	176
Burmese Novels:	
3. Maung Pe Shin and Ma Me Tin, Part I, by Saya Ba, by the Editor	179
4. Maung Hmaing, Part II, by the Editor ..	180
The Report on Burmese Marching Songs ..	181
Proceedings of the Society	185
List of Publications received since April 1918 ..	187

THE JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY

DECEMBER 1918

Volume VIII, PART III.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Greater Temples of Pagān, by Professor G. H. Luce ..	189
Sunlight and Soap, by J. S. Furnivall, I.C.S.	199
Pottery in Burma, by A. P. Morris, B.Sc.	213
Buddhist Nibbana: An Essay, by the Editor	223
Dialogue on Nibbana, by Shwe Zan Aung, B.A.	233
Shin Uttamagyaw and His Tawla: A Nature Poem—V, by U Po Byu, (Poem translated by B. H.)	255

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

Buddhism and Bergsonism and U Shwe Zan Aung <i>versus</i> Dr. Ross, by Prof. K. M. Ward	263
The Twelve-Year Cycle of Burmese Year-Names, by Maung Hla, B.A.	270
Pali Poetry (A Review), Bhikkhu Sīlācāra	275
Burmese Novels 5—Mya Gale, by the author of Maung Hmaing, etc., (by J. T. Stewart)	285
6. Maung Hmaing—Part III, by the Editor	286
Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for 1917-18, by the Editor	286
List of Books received and Proceedings	288, 289

GLIMPSES OF BURMA EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

On 15th April 1837 what was probably the very first newspaper published in Burma appeared in Maulmain. I beg to be allowed to keep the old spelling of the name of that picturesque town. Without expressing any opinion as to the correctness or otherwise of the new spelling, I submit that the old form was universal in 1837 and for many years after that. It was still universal when I first knew Maulmain nearly fifty years ago, and the change only came in comparatively recently. In dealing with 1837 it is more appropriate to retain the old form whether it is right or wrong. From the old numbers of the *Maulmain Chronicle* in my possession, it is possible to get a fair idea of what life in Burma then was. When the *Chronicle* was started, Tenasserim had been under British rule for less than twelve years, and it is interesting to contrast the high hopes then entertained by both Government and the merchants of rapid development, with what actually occurred in subsequent years. But it will be best to begin by quoting the *Chronicle's* introductory paragraph, which I quote in full.

"This paper will be devoted solely to information connected with these provinces and surrounding countries, strictly avoiding all political and controversial subjects. The first numbers will be humble and unpretending, and contain merely advertisements, notifications, statements of arrivals and departures, trade, &c., and items of the latest intelligence from neighbouring countries and provinces. Should the paper, however, meet with fair support from the community, and friends occasionally assist us with contributions to its columns we may look forward to its growing with the growth of Maulmain and becoming the vehicle of much valuable information relative to the surrounding countries of which little is even yet known. The price of the Paper will be half a Rupee to non-subscribers and one and a half Rupee a month to subscribers. Persons desirous of subscribing will be pleased to send their names to the Printer, Free School Press, to whom also all advertisements for insertion should be sent before Friday of each week."

The first article, under the heading "Ava" describes what was happening in Upper Burma. It seems that towards the end of February, the suspicions of the court fell on the Princess of Pagan, a sister of the King. An armed party was sent to search her house for arms and to seize her steward, one Nga-ye. Both the princess and her steward, however, escaped in time, the former going to another brother, the Prince of Tharrawaddy, who advised her to give herself up, which she did with the result that she was immediately thrown into prison and loaded with three pairs of irons. Nga-ye seems to have made good his escape, but the court were convinced he also was in Tharrawaddy's house though the Prince denied all knowledge of him. An armed party was then sent to search the house, but Tharrawaddy resisted this and the search party was driven back. This, of course, was open rebellion, so Tharrawaddy, his family and followers went

to Alompra's birth place, where he gained sufficient followers to resist the King; and, eventually, we know, he secured the throne for himself. But in April 1837, all that was known in Maulmain was that civil war had broken out in Upper Burma; that Colonel Burney the British Resident, was still at Ava; and that news had not yet been received of the arrival at Ava of a detachment of the M. N. I. which had been sent under Lieutenant Beavor from Maulmain on 2nd March. Under all these circumstances it was natural that there should be anxiety in Maulmain.

The next two articles are interesting as they show zeal and enterprise on the part of the British Government in ascertaining what the natural resources of the province were, and a keen desire on the part of the merchants to develop these resources. It is rather humiliating to reflect that so little came of all this enterprise and of these glowing anticipations. After the annexation of Pegu, a richer province, or, at least, one more easily developed, one can understand some neglect of Tenasserim, a long strip of mountainous coast line and with practically no navigable rivers. But in 1837 the annexation of Pegu was still fifteen years in the future. Yet little seems to have come of the glowing anticipations of development during those years. Even after the annexation of Pegu, some thing more might have been done for Tenasserim. In the matter of internal land communications it is still sadly lacking, and that after nearly a century of British rule. To return, however, to what was being done in 1837, no fewer than three of what we may call prospecting expeditions are mentioned in the first number of the *Chronicle*. The first was under Mr. Richardson. He was accompanied by over one hundred people, most of whom were traders in search of new markets. News had been received to the effect that he had crossed the Salween towards the end of January "into the Kayennee country, en route to the Burmese Shan town of Monay." His progress had been greatly impeded by bad roads and want of provisions. "They had been for some days without a grain of rice among the whole party." It was feared that the civil war in Upper Burma would interfere with his plans and in Maulmain there was much anxiety about him. The second party was under Captain McLeod, who was also accompanied by traders on the look-out for extensions of trade. The news given regarding him is that he "had reached Znmmy in prosecution of his journey towards the frontiers of China viâ Kyaingtoon." This was surely rather an ambitious attempt for these early days. Had he been able to go by the Irrawaddy the reaching the borders of China would have been comparatively simple, but an overland journey from Maulmain was a very different matter.

The third expedition was of a different character altogether, its object being to gain a scientific knowledge of the natural resources of Tenasserim itself. In this way, it was the most important and the most promising of the three. It was under Dr. Helfer and the *Chronicle* says that it was directed to finding out the natural wealth of the country to the northward, lying between the Salween and Gyne rivers. "He appears to have discovered some rich veins of iron ore, and on a late occasion to have fallen in with an anciently worked Silver Mine. Dr. Helfer is of opinion that the

soil in the immediate neighbourhood of Maulmain, around the Trokla hills, is well adapted to cultivation . . . and that extensive plains might be prepared for cultivation at no great cost as they consist chiefly of grass and small patches of jungle." In later numbers of the *Chronicle* Dr. Helfer himself contributes articles and to those reference will be made later on. But, meantime, in order to get as complete a picture as possible of Maulmain in 1837 it will be better to finish the account of the first number of its first newspaper.

There are only five items of local news. The first tells us that the Free School had been opened on 29th March with eleven pupils only, but had already increased the number to thirty, while more were expected after the bodies of four "Pongyees" then "lying in state" had been cremated. The second item of news had better be given in full:—"We understand that the comedy of *The Poor Gentleman* and a new historical drama in one act, entitled *The Old Regimentals* are in course of preparation for the next theatrical entertainment." No doubt these amateur theatricals did much to relieve the monotony of life in Maulmain in these old days. The third item of news is the firing of three guns for the commencement of the Burmese New Year. By giving an account of how the Burmese reckon the date, and proving, to his own satisfaction any way, that the Burmese are 22 days wrong in their reckoning, the Editor manages to fill a quarter of a page over the firing of these three guns. He includes also the usual predictions of calamities of all kinds foretold for the New Year by the Burmese which are, as he says, "much in the style of old English Almanacs." The fourth item of news is an account of an attempt made by some 25 Bengali convicts to escape while they were gathering firewood for the jail under the charge of some peons. The latter promptly used their weapons on the escaping convicts of whom only one escaped; but six convicts were killed and nine were wounded before the attempt to escape was renlinquished. The Editor considers that the peons "behaved extremely well" by the drastic measures so promptly adopted. In the present day most of us would want fuller details before giving this praise to the peons. The one convict who did escape was brought in four days later "having been unable to get his irons off and much reduced by want of food and the infliction of a slight wound from a spear." It is not stated how he got this wound. It seems very unlikely that the peons were armed with spears only. The fifth and last item of news would be spoiled by condensation, so it is better to give it in full—"An aged widow, residing at Tavoyzoo, committed suicide on the night of the 8th instant, by suspending herself from the roof of her house. Since the introduction of hanging as a capital punishment in these provinces, it appears to have superseded arsenic in the estimation of such amiable dames as desire to shuffle off this mortal coil. Several instances of female 'suspension' have occurred of late years at this place; but they were the very antipodes of one which occurred some time ago, and which was that of a young, good-looking and lately married woman. No cause could be assigned for the act. She was well-off in the world, liked her husband, and had married him with the consent of her family." Apart from the very questionable taste involved in thus treating as a sort of

joke the domestic tragedies of suicide; did the Editor really think that the introduction of hanging as a punishment for criminals had made this an attractive form of death for the unbalanced minds of those who seek an escape by suicide?

The only letter published begins by complimenting the Editor on his prospects and concludes as follows:—"As the first number of the *Maulmain Chronicle* is to be humble and unpretending, I will commence by asking a simple question of a *homely character*, i. e. is Maulmain a Free Port or not? I probably may be a constant contributor to your columns, and in my next may make a few rambling remarks *en passant* on the trade of these provinces, and afterwards may be induced to travel all the way to those surrounding countries alluded to in your prospectus and which are to many *terra incognita*." In the next number of the paper the Editor thanks the writer of the letter for his promise of further contributions, but declines to discuss the question as to whether Maulmain is a free port or not. The Editor is of opinion that it is free; but suspects "there is more in the question than meets the eye;" that this discussion might lead to heated controversy; and as the subject of the paper is "to amuse without entering into any exciting subject" it is better to avoid so controversial a subject as this. Apparently an import duty on teak was either in force or was threatened and some strong feeling on the subject was prevalent. There could scarcely have been imports of teak by sea as the port of teak was practically Maulmain's sole business then and for long afterwards. There may have been a duty levied on teak coming from across the land frontier, but this would scarcely affect the question of Maulmain being a free port. It is evident, however, that the apparently simple question might prove rather thorny and the peace loving Editor was determined to avoid pitfalls of that kind.

The notices of domestic occurrences are three in number, two births and one death. The wording of the birth notices sounds quaint in modern ears, and, as one of them is interesting for other reasons, I give it in full; "At Maulmain, on the 7th instant, the lady of the Rev. Adoniram Judson of a son."

The list of vessels lying in the Maulmain river gives only eight in all; six schooners ranging from 25 to 75 tons; one brig of 120 tons; and a barque of 275 tons. The commander of the barque is Hadjee Ibrahim; of the brig F. Barretto; and of the largest schooner R. Lindsay. One schooner was commanded by Golaub Serang and another by Abdool Serang, but the remainder had no commanders. Probably no very great knowledge of seamanship was required from the commanders of these small vessels, so suitable men could be found in any port. Both passengers and consignors of cargo by these vessels must have taken very great risks, especially if no system of insurance had been started in Maulmain. The destination of the barque was Madras, and two of the schooners were to go to Rangoon, but the destination of all the others is put down as "uncertain." The probable date of sailing is "uncertain" except in the case of the largest schooner, and that takes the indefinite form of an "four or five days." Life must have been a very leisurely thing in those days for all concerned, but; all the same, this leisurely way of doing things must have been very trying at

times. A man wishing to leave Maulmain at the time we are considering, had the chance of going to Rangoon in a few days; or to Madras at an indefinite date; but if he wished to go to Calcutta he would be altogether uncertain as to when he could get a passage there.

An idea of the volume of trade then done by Maulmain may be gathered from the list of the week's imports and exports. The imports are divided into those by land and by sea. The imports by land consist mainly of teak, but include also seven elephants, 37 buffaloes and 227 bullocks. Those by sea consist partly of ngapee, mats &c., brought by Burmese boats from Tavoy and Mergui; also the peculiar item, "ten cotton padsoos." If this means *pasoes*, it is curious that Maulmain should have had to import them from Tavoy; and the number seems ridiculously small as an item of overseas trade. In addition to these boats one square-rigged vessel had come from Calcutta during the week and had cleared out more promptly than the smaller vessels. She brought the following assortment of goods:—9 cases champagne (*sic*), 1 case plates, 72 cases sundries, 22 bags sugar, 1 fowling piece, 11 kegs paint, 2 cases tar, 3 casks biscuits, 9 hogsheads beer, 1 bale umbrellas, 60 baskets potatoes and one case segars (*sic*.) The exports all went by this vessel which sailed for Madras with 225 tons teak, 450 pieces of sapan wood, 5 bales of cardamons and one Pegu pony. Two schooners and one brig had arrived during the week and one brig had left.

The remainder of the first number of the *Chronicle* is taken up with two Government advertisements signed by J. De La Condamine, Assistant to the Commissioner. The first informs the public that in future, when gangs of convicts hired out for labour have to be supplied with tools for their work, a charge of one rupee a month per man will be made for the tools, in addition to the charge for labour. What the latter charge was is not stated. Then follows a long notice regarding the sale of liquor. Four persons only had licenses to retail liquor in Maulmain, but they were expressly forbidden to sell it "to any European soldier, woman or child, or to any convict," under a penalty of one hundred rupees for the first offence and two hundred rupees for every subsequent offence. Another clause prohibits any employer from "paying any servant or labour any portion of his wages in arrack or other spirituous liquors under a penalty of rupees fifty for each and every offence." The last clause of the notice is as follows:—"The fines leviable under these regulations are commutable to two months imprisonment for every fifty rupees. One half all fines to be given to the former." Most men would pay fifty rupees rather go to prison for two months; but if any one was really unable to pay, one wonders whether the informer lost his reward.

This condensation of the contents of the first number of the *Chronicle* enables us to form a fairly complete picture of what life was in Maulmain in the year of grace 1837. The place was still very small but was growing as order was established under British rule. Very little, however, was known of the interior of Tenasserim and still less of the countries bordering on it. Boats went to and from Tavoy and Mergui, but little could have been known of the interior of the coast line in general. Small sailing vessels plied at very irregular intervals from Maulmain to Calcutta, Madras and

Rangoon, but in the intervals between the arrival of these vessels, the inhabitants of Maulmain knew nothing of what was occurring in the outside world. Even of what was happening in Upper Burma, they knew little beyond the fact that there was more or less chronic disorder there, and that the small garrison might any day have to face an invading force greatly superior in numbers. But the discomforts and dangers of their position were accepted quite cheerfully as being all in the day's work and as the common lot of pioneers which they were proud to be. Most of them had made Maulmain their home and no wish to leave it. They had come to love the country and its people; they regarded it as a remarkably healthy place; believed the country to be naturally rich and capable of great and rapid development. On this last point we know they were over-sanguine, but this illusion helped, along with dinners, dances and theatrical entertainments, to relieve the monotony of their lives. Looked at from a modern stand point, the trade was ridiculously small and was conducted on very primitive lines and in leisurely fashion, but all this had its compensations. These easier conditions of life are often one of the great attractions to pioneers. The Burmese and Talaings who settled in Tenasserim escaped oppression and were able to live in peace. The Europeans and Indians who went from Calcutta, Madras or elsewhere also gained easier conditions of life, not because they got a better system of Government, but because they had less keen competition to face. They had come to a place where the clerk, for instance, had a better chance of starting in business on his own account.

Having thus got a fair idea of what Maulmain was eighty years ago, it may be interesting to conclude with an account of the results of Dr. Helfer's prospecting expedition, that being the one from which the greatest results were expected. The next issue of the *Chronicle*, that of 22nd April, contains the following announcement; "We understand that Dr. Helfer has discovered another bed of iron ore, somewhere on the Dagne river, which he describes as rich and valuable in a high degree, the metal being almost unmixed. We trust that this and other discoveries he has made will not be neglected, but be eventually turned to the advantage and prosperity of the country." On 6th May appeared the first of several articles by Dr. Helfer himself headed, "On the Natural Resources of Amherst Province." These articles are undoubtedly, as he himself admits in one of them, rather "prolix," and would not be generally interesting now, but they must have raised great hopes, at the time, of speedy development and growing wealth for Maulmain. It will suffice to enumerate here, as briefly as possible, some of the sources of possible wealth he points out. He first mentions several dyes used by the "Karians" and says: "Considering the daily increasing importance of permanent dyes in Europe, since calico and chintz printing has made such rapid progress, the demand for cheap and durable colours will probably soon reach the distant shores of the East. India has been till now in this respect entirely superseded by America, which latter country gains annually enormous sums for its colouring matter. If the discovery of Dr. Burt, lately mentioned, proves to be generally applicable, the Tenasserim provinces possess the nucleus of an important

article of commerce in the leaves of its valuable teak-trees." Dr. Burt of Berhampore thought he had discovered a valuable yellow dye in the leaves of the teak tree, and had sent an account of his discovery to the Asiatic Society. The *Englishman* had published an account of it, which the *Maulmain Chronicle* had reproduced. Seeing that the present war has brought home to us the mistake we made in trusting so much to Germany for dyes, it is rather curious to find that eighty years ago, a gentleman, whose name is rather suggestive of a German origin, was pointing out in Maulmain the pecuniary loss involved in trusting to America for dyes, instead of producing them within the Empire. Presumably Dr. Burt's suggestion proved unworkable as the source of supply he indicated is enormous and the cost would be only that of collection.

Sticklac and Burmese varnish are the next valuable products named by Dr. Helfer; then the bark of an indigenous oak tree which, he says, is highly valuable for tanning. Wood oil comes next; followed by honey and wax, "both of which have been almost entirely neglected." All of these he, apparently, considered as among the major exports of the immediate future. Among the minor sources of future wealth, he mentions; (1) three species of wild cinnamon tree; (2) several species of fig trees yielding India rubber; (3) the fruits of a dwarfish palm in the high parts of the Elephant tail mountains, containing very much oil; and (4) the bulb of a fern yielding an abundance of farinaceous, nutritive matter resembling arrowroot. In his next article he points out that timber comes into the first class of what he calls "natural resources," by which he means "any productions, animal, vegetable or mineral, which Nature herself yields spontaneously." He mentions Thenzan, Peemah and a species of Saul, as superb trees and adds that "the plains possess, besides, one of the hardest woods in existence, the black iron wood, and another kind of ebony is very abundant on the Northern frontier." Pine trees too of very large dimensions are in great abundance just over the Siamese border. Then he adds; "But it would be useless to enumerate the 165 *different species of trees* already noticed as existing in the country by Dr. Wallich. A great proportion is even totally unknown to the scientific world, much less to practical men, who endeavour to obtain teak, and neglect all other descriptions of wood. The few trials made to export other descriptions of timber deterred the speculators by their first bad success, chiefly caused by the ignorance or obstinacy of the buyers. As it can only be determined by practical experiments and prolonged experience, which species deserves the chief attention, later times will develop the riches of the country in this respect much clearer than is now possible, and will perhaps astonish those who ought to be most interested in it at present." Had they been able to foresee the future it would have been Dr. Helfer himself who refused to go on exporting other woods at a loss in order to overcome the ignorance or obstinacy of the buyers. Dr. Helfer would probably have been equally astonished at the subsequent growth of an export trade in rice. The articles which he enumerates as likely to be profitable for cultivation are cotton, tobacco, sugarcane, coffee, indigo, opium, castor oil and maize. He did not think the climate suitable for tea, but thought that nutmegs, cloves and

cardamons might thrive in Mergui. Rice was grown in Tenasserim for home consumption, but no one seems to have thought of extending this cultivation and exporting the surplus. Dr. Helfer, however, hit on a brilliant idea for getting an export even from the rice fields. This was to be obtained by planting maize in them after the paddy had been reaped in December.

Dr. Helfer's third division of natural products consists of those "which require to undergo mechanical and chemical operations" before they are of use. As an easy first among these he puts potash, which can be got from ashes, and he says; "Few countries in the world are so densely wooded and offer, therefore, the natural materials for the productions of potash as the Tenasserim provinces. And in no other country is so much of ashes wantonly wasted or utterly neglected." The destruction of timber wrought annually in the forests of Burma by fires, accidental and wilful, gives a supply of ashes, he argues, from which, converted into potash, Tenasserim could easily draw over a quarter of a million pounds sterling from England every year. Incidentally this would render England independent of Russia for this article, which would be a gain "as the ties of friendship and mutual exchange with that country are loosened more and more every day and may ere long be totally interrupted." Dr. Helfer's contributions end thus in another hope which did not materialise. The ashes have been wasted and Tenasserim has never got the quarter of a million sterling yearly from this source. It is pathetic to look back on all these visions of rapid development for Maulmain in the light of what has actually happened in the intervening eighty years.

J. STUART.

THE PROBABLE ORIGIN OF BURMESE POETRY.

The origin of Burmese literature has hitherto been a mystery. In attempting to solve this mystery with great diffidence, one has to theorise from certain known facts of later date. But such facts are few and far between and we have been compelled to supplement these few facts with known facts of other lands and other peoples. In other words, we have had to utilise the known history of literature in general and of Indian literature in particular. Still, the present article cannot expect to be more than a maximum of theory with a minimum of facts.

In all languages poetry as literature preceded prose because prose, though natural to men in conversation, was not adapted to be a medium of recorded thought at a time when writing was unknown. Burmese poetry seems to have begun with a desire to impart instructions and for didactic purposes an easily remembered verse would be the best form of composition. The earliest known didactic poetry is the *Manu Dhammathat Laṅgā*¹ by Buddhaghosa of Pagan during the reign of Tha-ra-mun Phya (494—516 A. D.). *Dhārmashastras* or metrical law books were produced in large numbers in India between the beginning of the Christian era and the Mahomedan conquest, and Dr. Burnell fixed 500 A. D. as the probable date of the *Mānava Dhārmashastras*. But his arguments were not convincing.

Laṅgā, from Pali *Alaṅkāra*, is a generic term for all kinds of Burmese poetry. In Pali the term *Alaṅkāra* is applied to rhetoric because rhetorical language pleases, or as ancient Indians would say adorns, the ear.

Didactic poetry has since been composed on any conceivable subject beside law,—astronomy, astrology, alchemy, medicine, history, grammar, orthography, prosody and even abstruse philosophy—showing that the Burmese language with its monosyllabic tendency and wealth of synonyms capable of forming any compounds is an excellent medium of poetic expression of human thoughts and feelings. But long before that elaborate metrical law-book was composed, didactic poetry must have been practised in epigrammatic verses. The most popular form now adopted for this purpose is what is called "*Than-bauk*" which consists of a single line of three feet the first of which contains four syllables, the second three syllables, and the third five or more syllables. If the final foot contains five syllables, the verse may be considered to be a sort of alexandrine of three quadri-syllabic feet with a pause (or *yati*) after the penultimate syllable of the middle foot. As this kind of early poetry, handed down by word of mouth, has not survived to us, it is impossible to give an example of earliest verses. But for purposes of illustrating the structure we may give a comparatively modern verse from a poem on orthography, named *Man-zi Thatpôn* after the popular name of the author Puññākāmi (1714—1733 A. D.).—

¹ I thought that Saya Pye discovered a MS. copy of this work in the Bernard Free Library about a decade ago, because he marks the work in his *Pitakat Thamaing* with an asterisk.

I have since learnt that it was a mistake on his part. But the fact of not finding a copy of the same does not affect the argument.

တန်ခူးကဆုန်။ လန်မျှန်။ ဖုန်ဖုန်လွင်မြိုလိမ့်။ ။

It will be noticed that this, like other kinds of poetry, is characterised by a peculiar system of leonine or middle rhymes.¹ A description of the six systems of leonine rhymes will be found on p. 90, Vol. II, Pt. I, of this Journal. With its jingling rhymes of chiming bells to please the ear, the verse is admirably suited for impressing on the memory. But rhyme without rhythm would give very poor poetry. In Pali and Sanscrit rhythm is regulated by metres and Indian prosodists gave us definite laws of metrification adopted by their famous poets. The Burmese borrowed these Indian metres ready-made, eight of which have been described by "M. O." on p. 89, Vol. I, Pt. II of this Journal. But the Burmese quadrisyllabic feet with leonine rhymes in lines running, so to speak, into one another in a sort of continuous *enjambement* or "striding-over" not from verse to verse but from foot to foot in a stanza is so peculiar to Burma and so different from Indian verses that one would not suspect in the least our indebtedness to India in the matter of versification. And yet our bards appear to have drawn their inspiration from the Indian Muses.

Suppose an Englishman were to compose a Latin verse which, if translated into a vernacular, is a serious sermon but which, when chanted with cadence and music, becomes a light English song. I am not sure if such a writer would not be entitled to be considered a genius. At any rate, it would be a literary feat of no mean order. And this almost impossible feat was attempted by our spirited Nanda-dhaja, popularly known as Kyigan Koyingyi in 1807 A. D. He composed a poem entitled *Sattovādī Kammaṭ-thāna* in Pali by way of religious admonition or instruction to the people.—

I select the following four verses:—

1. ဇာယုဘျာဟု အာယုမလာ။ မလာမလာ။ ဗျာဟီ စိတ္တံ။ ဝေလံ ဝေလံ တရဟံမ။ တံယင်္ဂံ ဝေယန္တုကတံ။ ။

2. အထကြာ ဗျာဟီဝေပူဇာ။ မလေမမှာ လာဘာမလာ။ ဗန္ဓိဗန္ဓာ တရကာတ။ မိစေကာ ဝေလာဝေဘောလာ။ ။

3. တရေရေသာ မလေတံကာ။ သနာဇရာ ဝံမှာပူရေ။ ဗလီဗလာ မတပ္ပါတွေ။ ကာဝေကာခွေကာတန္တိယေ။ ။

* * * * *

7. အချိမ္မလာပြီ မာယာကာ။ ကာလသာ ဆန္ဒျာ မယုံသာ။ ချိန္တမ္မလာ တံကာတရ။ ဘိလေဝံ ကာတရဘိလေ။ ။

* * * * *

To give an idea of the nature of the sermon, the first verse is translated below:—

Oh Life, physical and mental! Because of [thy] vitality, verily the mind is full of cares, full of filth [of desire, like unto a pond full of poison] full of poison [of anger, like unto a snake] and full of dirt [of ignorance, like unto darkness at dead of night]. It is certainly meet to do what is meritorious and brings about happiness as cooling water does. Therefore resolve in your mind: 'I will cross over to the Deathless Other Shore after doing meritorious acts.'

¹ I am indebted to Mr. May Oung for information that Burmese owed to Talaing for middle rhymes, because they had indulged in end rhymes previously.

The Author claims that the first and the third stanzas are of the *Patyāvatta* class, while the second is of the third *Nakāravipulā* and seventh of the *Vatta* classes.

Therefore all these stanzas can be regularly scanned according to the laws of Indian prosody. But it is next to impossible to say how verses of different classes in a dead language were actually chanted when the language was once a living tongue. Our gifted author has indicated one way of chanting his verses as below :—

1. ဇာယုဗျာဟု—အာယုမလာ၊ မလာမလာ—ဗျာဟုတိတ်တမ်း။ ဝေးလံဝေးလံ—တရဟန်၊ မတန်ရင်ကန်၊ ဝေယန်ဘုံကတမ်း။ ။

2. အထပ်တရာ—ဗျာဟုဝေပူဆာ၊ မလေးမမှာ—လာဟုမလာ။ ဘန်တီးဘန်းတာ—တရကာ၊ တမန်စေကာ—ဝေးလာဝေးပေါလာ။ ။

3. တရေးရေးသာ—မလေးတမ်းကာ၊ သနားစရာ—ဝမ်းမှာပူရေး။ ပလီပလာ—မတပ်ပါ—တွေကာဝေကာ—ခွေကာတမ်းမိရေး။ ။

7. အချိန်မလာပြီ—မာယာကာ။ ကာလသား—ဆန်းပြား မယုံသာ။ ချိန်တန် မလာ—တမ်းကာ တရဘိလေး။ ပန်းကာတရဘိလေး။ ။

All songs give good Burmese tunes. But some of them give us also good sense. That any should be linguistically good Burmese is, however, a matter of accident. This Janus-faced poem is only paralleled in the history of Indian literature by the highly esteemed poem, the *Rāghava Paṇḍarīya* of Kavi-rājā of about the 10th century A. D., whose stanzas are so ingeniously worded that the poem may be interpreted as relating to the leading story of either the *Rāmāyana* or the *Mahābhārata*. This feat of the Indian King of Poets has been considered by a European critic as the trifling uses to which the poetic art was put. But we regret that we cannot agree with him. For a talented painter who can draw two pictures with one stroke of his brush cannot be said to put his art to trifling uses. A person who can kill two birds with one stone is certainly abler than another who can kill only one at a time. However we are not concerned with the merit or demerit of the poems in question. What we are concerned with here is “the rhythm of the foreigner.” The very possibility of correspondence in rhythm between a Pali verse and a Burmese poetic composition seems to me to supply a clue to the mysterious origin of Burmese poetry. For example, the first half of the first song is an ordinary verse of four quadri-syllabic feet while the second half contains the form of a “*Thanbawk*.”

We may, therefore, infer that the Burmese verse was modelled after Sanscrit (since Pali prosody is similar to Sanscrit), as if some of early English poets composed their verses on Latin or foreign models.

If this my theory of the origin of Burmese poetry be true, the entire Burmese verse must have been originally scanned as in Sanscrit models. But when I was in Kyaukse in 1895, an old man named U Nyo, who claimed himself to be a pupil of a Nakhandaw, gave me a verse which reads as follows :—

ဂိုဏ်းတွင်းမည်ရ။ ကိုးပဒဝယ်။ နံရဆက္ကရာ။

မည်ရည်ပါမူ။ ယင်းမှာကြက်ခြေ။ မခတ်စေနှင့်။ ။

The meaning of this verse is:—Do not make a cross where letters of names (viz., of the author and the person who forms the “subject” of the poem) appear within the nine feet, called “metred.”

‘To make a cross’ here means ‘to cross out a syllable as extra-metrical.’ The breach of this rule spells ruin, if not death, to the author or to the “subject,” according as the author’s name-letter in the first foot called *Gaing-barw* or the “subject’s” name-letter in the second foot called *Gaing-gan* happens to be crossed out. This is, of course, superstition. But one thing we learn from this verse is that the rigid rules of Pali or Sanscrit prosody had been relaxed to a certain extent. Now, if we only could by any means fix the date when these lines were penned, we should be in a position to state when scanning was confined to the first nine feet. But my informant could not give me any more particulars regarding the work from which the extract was made. Fortunately, however, in the *Kavikāṭhapāsa Laṅkā* written by Ukkaiṁsamālā during the reign of Sane Min (1698—1714 A. D.) we have the following line:—

စတုဝဏ္ဏ။ ကိုးပါဒကို။ ဂိုဏ်းတွင်းဆို၏။ ။

Therefore we may safely conclude that towards the close of the 17th century A. D. the entire verse was no longer scanned as it once was. Shin Vicittācāra or Shin Vitthāra (? 1723—1751 A. D.) gave us some instructions as to what metre to select and what metre to reject for the initial foot of a verse and this was not for the sake of the poetic art but for superstitious reasons. Although this does not show that metre was confined to the first foot only, as alleged by Saya Thein on p. 128 of his *Porāṇadīpanī*, the tendency of poetasters seems to have been to neglect metre for the rest of the verse, and very often even for the initial foot. This loss of metre seems to some to be compensated by the systems of middle rhymes referred to above and which have now come to be regarded as essential to Burmese poetry. In fact inferior poets seem to think that there can be no Burmese poetry without rhymes and “C. D.” on p. 94, Vol. II, Pt. I of this Journal went so far as to say:—“Abolish rhymes, and you abolish Burmese prosody.” But prosody is not poetry. Nowadays even the merest tyro, who is entirely ignorant of metrification but who seems to think that poetry is an easy performance with a command of the language and correct orthography for purposes of rhyme, tries his hand at doggerels as if rhyme is all in all and rhythm nothing at all in Burmese poetry. But as the test of the pudding is in the eating, so is the test of a poem in the “singing.” The application of this test would be necessary in the absence of any well recognised metrical laws and poets who follow good models seem to have applied this test consciously or unconsciously.

The reason why metre has fallen into disuse or rather why recognised metrical laws have not been consciously followed is not far to seek. The Burmese verse is quadri-syllabic in feet. But Indian metre is of three syllables only. When people lost sight of the origin of their poetry, the

¹ Min-rājā according to Saya Thein is the author of the *Paleiksa Egyin*.. The title of Minye Rājā was conferred on U Phyaw and the revenue of Paleik village was granted to him during the reign of Sin-byu-shin (1763—1776 A.D.). Hence he is better known as Paleiksa. But it does not appear that he was appointed a minister (Amat). Another Min-rājā, who was a beneficiary grantee of the Myin-kwā village is placed in Saya Thein's list of authors above Wungyi Padesarājā (1698—1751). There was still another Minrājā who flourished as a prominent minister from the reign of Mingyi Swa Sawke (1367—1400 A.D.) to that of Mingaung, the First (1401—1421). This Minister was also known as Wunzin Po Rājā, Wun-zin being the name of his native village in the Meiktila District. Wunzin is probably modern Wundwin. The minister died at an advanced age in 1421 A.D.

scholar who was a prominent figure in the Mandalay Court during the last two reigns of the Alaungpara dynasty that his invariable practice was to hand over his compositions to his Sā-so-daw (professional reciter) to see if there were any rhythmic faults.

The rule in italics, however, points to the Patyāvatta or Vipulā stanzas of the Anuṭṭhubha kind of Indian prosody as the probable origin of Burmese prosody, the octosyllabic feet of the former being treated as two quadri-syllabic feet of the latter. If the first and the last syllables of the Indian octosyllabic foot be rejected as extra-metrical, it is the same as rejecting the first syllable of the first Burmese foot and the fourth of the second, so that Kavikaṇṭhapāsa's rule of ignoring the first syllable and Min-rajā's rule of disregarding the fourth are reconciled in this view.

We have pointed out that a generic term for poetry is *laṅgā* and we have also seen that our earliest known *laṅgā* synchronised with the Indian Renaissance. Another generic term for both poetry and songs is *kavyā*, the work or property of a *kavi* or poet. Now, we know that the word *kāvya* was the general appellation of poetical productions of a period of renewed literary activity, called the Renaissance of the Indian literature, which took place about the 5th or 6th century A. D. *Mahā-kāvya* is the title of the six poems singled out by Indian rhetoricians as standard works. Of these, two have been ascribed to Kālidāsa, that master of the poetic art, who flourished about 500 A. D. and was the most prominent figure of the Indian Renaissance.

It is curious that the name of our lyric, the earliest division of Burmese poetry, is *rātu*, an unmistakeable corruption of the Indian word *ritu* which corresponds to Pali *Utu* for "season."

Kālidāsa wrote a collection of sonnets on the attractive features of the six seasons under the title of *Ritu-saṃhāra*. And our own *ratus* are believed to have been originally on seasons especially as we hear their echoes in the lyrical "calendars" of later date. *Rātu* had since been extended to all kinds of "occasional" poetry. No *Ratus* of the earliest period have come down to us. The reason for the disappearance of early *Ratus* is that lyrics were "sung," but not "made," in those days. The early practice of singing *ratus* has, however, survived in the expression ရတနီ instead of ရတနီ.

It is not improbable that we have also borrowed our idea of *kye-ze ratu* from Lakshmidāsa's *Suka-sandesā* or "parrot-message."

Since Kālidāsa was no doubt preceded by lesser lights who were eclipsed by the sun of his fame, our *ratus* were probably sung long before his time, and from a very early period, because we hear of twelve boat-songs corresponding to the twelve seasons or months of the year during the reign of Duttabaung of Prome (443—373 B. C.).

SHWE ZAN AUNG.

MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM.

What is sometimes called Mahāyāna Buddhism is that form and development of the teaching of Gotama Buddha found current principally in Tibet, China, Mongolia, and Japan. As these countries all lie north of the land in which the Teaching had its origin, the form of the religion there found is also often called by the name of Northern Buddhism.

The first main distinction between it and the form current in the southern lands of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam—and to some extent, also Annam—is that it is based upon a version of the Buddha's teaching which has been committed to writing in the Sanskrit language; whereas the latter countries found their interpretation of that Teaching upon the records of the same written in what is believed to be the tongue of the ancient northern Indian kingdom of Magadha,—a tongue which bears somewhat the same relation to Sanskrit that Tuscan does to Latin.

A second distinction is that the expounders of the Teaching in the northern countries have felt themselves at liberty to indulge in a more daring and free speculation upon, and development of, what they have found in their Sacred Writings, than the expounders and commentators of the south have cared to venture upon with regard to theirs; with the result that the former have arrived at a wider, more extended range of ideas in connection with the Teaching than have the latter. In the north the students of the Teaching have been bold and fearless radicals, where the southern commentators have clung close to a safe conservatism. But the advantage has not been all on the side of the bold. In the writings of the southern school, even to-day, twenty-five long centuries since the Teaching was first made known, its original lineaments are still to be discerned with perfect clearness by whomsoever cares to study its documents; whereas in the northern school there is amply evident a strong tendency to lose the pure outline of the original doctrine in the mass of speculation which its many commentators have heaped upon it in the course of the centuries.

A third distinction, however, and perhaps the most important from a popular standpoint, is this,—that the northern school of Buddhism everywhere shows itself more complaisant, even indulgent, towards the capacity of the ordinary person than does the southern school. It has not totally banished from the midst of the people among whom it has taken root, all signs and tokens of the faiths—or superstitions—it has supplanted, but with a smiling benevolence has permitted the deities of the elder religions it has supplanted, to find some sort of nook of shelter in the new. In the temples of Tibet one finds the images of the old demons, the fierce powers of earth and air, whom the people religiously placated and worshipped before the advent of the Buddha's teaching in their country, comfortably ensconced alongside those of the Bodhisattvas, under the title of *Dharmapālas*, or "Guardians of the Dharma," Defenders of the Faith and all who follow it. Their malignant power is now put at the disposal of the new religion which they guard and defend by ruthlessly destroying anyone who threatens to oppose its progress or do it hurt.

In a certain ceremonial observance to be witnessed in Tibetan temples, the officiating Lama utters the most blood-curdling evocations and uses some rather unpleasant objects by way of conjuring up the demon in whose honour the ceremony is held, and with fierce gestures calls upon him to show his power and destroy utterly all heretics and opponents of the Good Law, heaping upon the heads of the latter imprecations of the most atrocious description, all precisely as though he were a priest of the old *Bön* religion of the land, summoning the powers of earth and air to avenge him upon his own personal enemies or those of the people who had engaged to carry out the conjuration on their behalf. Then his whole manner and tone changes to one of perfect mildness, and he begins to make the gestures of a person filled with pity, and goes through the form of weeping and bewailing the unhappy fate of the poor sinners whose depravity has made necessary their destruction by the Dharmapālas, assuring them that what is about to be done is for their good inasmuch as it is going to be made impossible for them to do any more evil (for this lifetime at least), whereby they would only heap up to themselves a still heavier load of guilt which would all have to be worked out in future woe. Here the old *Bön* deity still retains his ancient, ferocious character, only now he displays it in what is considered a perfectly righteous way,—not in ruthless wrath at, but in pitying compassion for, the beings he is going to annihilate. Thus the common man of Tibet is left undisturbed in the comfort and satisfaction he feels in worshipping the old demon-gods of his country the same as his fathers have done before him; only now he does it in a new and better way. And this is the most of which he is at present capable, say those Lamas who give any thought to the matter. When he comes to be able to take a worthier, wiser view of the Buddha's teaching, he can go to a really learned Lama-teacher and get the more excellent instruction he requires from him.

But in this attitude of northern Buddhism towards popular beliefs there is something more than mere complaisant indulgence. There lies in it also a genuine aim to make the acceptance of the Teaching easy for the people, a sincere desire to make it a real, working influence in the life of the common man, instead of a remote, and—to the common man with his limited understanding, only too likely—unintelligible, and therefore, ineffectual ideal.

Discussing one day the difference between northern and southern Buddhism with an intelligent Lama, the latter set forth that difference to the present writer, something as follows.

"In southern Buddhism," he said, "you take the bare teaching of the Buddha just as He put it in language that just states the bare, cold truth, without any attractive ornament. But in northern Buddhism we try to make the Teaching attractive and comprehensible to common people who have not very much intelligence, by making it human and personal, and appealing to their feelings and emotions. For instance, you say the Buddha's saying after Him: 'The excellence of an ox is its fatness, but the excellence of a man is his wisdom,' and you think that is enough. And it is a very true saying, but it does not touch the common people's heart. We take that truth spoken by the Buddha, that very same truth, but we make it warm

and living for the common people by personalising it. We have a deity called Manjusri. He is the god of learning. And every morning before the day's ordinary lessons begin, all the pupils in our schools recite a long invocation in praise of Manjusri, in which they pray Manjusri to help them to learn their lessons well that day, and acquire learning and knowledge and wisdom, so as to please him and become like him. Well, this prayer, said every morning like this by every Tibetan boy who is learning to read and write, has a greater effect upon him in turning his mind towards the desirability of getting knowledge than your bare saying of the Buddha, although it is just the same thing put in another way. But it is a better way for them, for people who are not thinkers and philosophers. It is more real to them, and produces some effect on them."

In a rough way, what the Lama here says about Manjusri, the Tibetan personalisation of learning, holds true of all the other personalisations of virtues and desirable qualities which compose the pantheon of Northern Buddhism. Every really intelligent Tibetan knows that these are no more than aids, than staffs and crutches—albeit very useful, perhaps, quite indispensable supports—for the feebler sort. The strong, however, on their part, have little hesitation in discarding them.

Thus, one morning, after reciting the brief, abridged invocation to Manjusri with which my Lama *munshi* insisted I should preface each day's hour of instruction in Tibetan, I point blank asked him if he really believed it did me or him any good to utter this form of words every day. He considered me gravely for a moment or two as though pondering whether he could afford to be frank with this white foreigner pupil. Then, apparently deciding that he could, he bluntly said: "No, I don't. The only Manjusri who ever helped me to learn Tibetan grammar was hard work. But," he added, with just the hint of a grin on his face, "it is our custom always to say this prayer before learning lessons, so I think you had better keep on saying it. Perhaps if you stopped it, you might make even slower progress than you are doing"! Alas, Manjusri or somebody must have taken aggrieved note of my sceptical suggestion and withdrawn the light of his countenance from the graceless questioner of his power, for after this day my progress proceeded to get slower and slower, and finally came to a complete standstill from which it never succeeded in getting started again, all 'prayers' notwithstanding!

And if one turns to the more philosophical sects among the Tibetans, in their more advanced teaching and practice one hears no mention of deities. To begin with, indeed, the novice is told to prostrate himself actually with his body, and mentally with heart and mind, before the personalisation of the virtue he desires to possess. But at length, when he is thought strong enough to bear the revelation, he is instructed that everything whatsoever is merely the creation of his mind, and that this illusion-creating mind is to be transcended, with all its thoughts and conceptions, and that state attained which is *Suññatā*, Emptiness, Nothing. In fact,—as a Vedantist might put it,—he is first taught *Bhakti Yoga*, Devotion; and from that as beginning, led on until he ends with pure *Gnāna Yoga*, Knowledge. The plan of progress thus sketched out for the pupil in some of

these sects strongly reminds one of the expression of a devotee of another religion altogether, San Juan de la Cruz, who somewhere tersely says: "A crucifix, good! A plain cross, better! Best of all, nothing!"

However, then, the current outward forms of northern and southern Buddhism may differ from each other, the one yielding to the popular demand—in truth, absolute need—for outward and visible symbols of inward, invisible qualities and virtues, the other with dogged, uncompromising faithfulness, holding by the original word of the Buddha, at bottom, save in a few unimportant details of terminology, there is no difference whatsoever between them, as they are expounded by their more eminent representatives.

A year or two ago, a list of questions bearing on the most vital points in Buddhist doctrine, was transmitted to the Dalai Lama for the favour of his answer thereto. When the answer came, the replies to each question were precisely such as might have been given by any learned Sayadaw of Burma. It is not likely that they were the Dalai Lama's own personal replies, since, as is well known, his eminence is more politician than ecclesiastic; but they were at least the replies which some learned Lama, deputed for the purpose by the titular head of the religion in Tibet, passed as correct. For example: One question asked, was whether there are in Tibet any great teachers of religion who teach the existence in man of a lasting, constant entity. The reply ran somewhat as follows:—

"I am not aware that there are any teachers of the religion in Tibet who teach any such thing; but if there are, then they are outside the religion, they are without the Law. We in Tibet accept completely the Buddha's teaching that a man is made up of five *Khandhas* (constituent components of conscious beings) which, each of them, and all of them together, are *anitya*, *dukkha*, *suññatā* (impermanent, infelicitous, and empty). We in Tibet are not heretics. We do not believe that there is any sixth *Khandha* which is permanent, felicitous, and a substantial entity."

In the "Outlines of Mahāyāna," and "The Light of Buddha," both by the Revd. S. Kuroda of the *Jodo* or "Pure Land" sect, and in the "Mahāyāna Sermons" by the Revd. Soyen Shaku, the present head of the Zen (*Jhāna*) sect, of Japan, expositions of the fundamental tenets of the Buddha's teaching are given which entirely agree with those of the leading exponents of the same in Ceylon and Burma. Not a word is to be found in these manuals about the worship of Kwannon or any other deity or deity-ess. In the Zen sect, moreover, they dismiss the Sacred Writings themselves with as sweeping a gesture as they do the deities of the populace. They lay all stress upon an individual intuition of the truth, saying, somewhat cavalierly perhaps: "The finger that points out the moon is very valuable; but when the moon is seen, who cares any more for the finger? The Scriptures point the way to the truth; but when the truth is known, of what further use is the Scripture?" But after all, this is not so very different from what we find in the Pāli as a word of the Buddha Himself: "Do not go merely by what is written in books . . . but when for yourself you have seen and known that such and such a teaching, being followed,

promotes the benefit, advantage, and well being of yourself and others, then follow and cleave to that teaching."

The method of meditation pursued in this Zen sect is somewhat peculiar, at least in its initial stages. After some preliminary training in correct breathing while seated in a cross-legged posture, the pupil is given as a subject for his meditation some entirely commonplace object such as a match-box or a shoe-nail, and told to come afterwards and inform his preceptor what thoughts arose in his mind as he meditated upon it. If, after hearing these, his preceptor says "Right!" his meditation for the day is over. But if the preceptor says "Wrong!" then the pupil has to go back to his place and resume his meditation, and keep on doing so, until his teacher at length says "Right!" These are the only words that pass from him to his pupils.

At a further stage, the pupil has put to him some such question or request as these: "Show me the original face you had before even your parents were born." "Produce the sound of a single hand." "What is the origin of nothing?" And when, after a due period of pondering the enigma, the pupil at length thinks he has found its solution, he has to bring his answer to his preceptor and convey it to him *solely by signs*; not a word must he speak. If he attempts to help himself out by the use of a single spoken syllable, he is at once sent back to his place in the row of silent meditators to meditate further. No audible or visible help is given to the pupils by their teacher since the object of the practice is to develop the pupils' own intuition, not to produce pale copies of his. But it is believed that the teacher assists his neophytes "telepathically," as one might say; or, in the phraseology of the latest western psychology, through the "subconscious mind." Some apter scholars solve these and similar conundrums to the satisfaction of their preceptor after only a few weeks' effort; some in a few months, while others take years. And it is to be presumed that some never solve them at all, but have to go home again with the conviction borne in upon them by experience, that Zen practice is not for them—that what they need is something homelier and easier than these desperate flights into what looks amazingly like nonsense just because it is the highest sense of all.

This particular method of meditation is said to have been devised in China some three hundred years ago only, and to be merely a weak model based upon the original system of a very much older date.

But enough has now been said to show that in Mahāyāna or Northern Buddhism there is as much of value as in the form of the Buddha's teaching followed in southern lands, when once its superficial wrappings are removed and the real form beneath disclosed. Outwardly, indeed it may seem at times, and especially so in a few of the more extremist sects, a sad, fantastic,—even in some regards, absurd—perversion of the sane, sober teaching of the Buddha as that teaching is presented in the Pāli. But, considered at close quarters, one finds that these occasional vagaries are no more than the outcome of its earnest attempts to accommodate itself to all men, even the humblest in understanding,—to gather within the field of its influence, with a single view to their improvement, every kind of man, even the most undeveloped in intellect, while all the time in its purer forms,

as expounded by its most eminent doctors, it offers that which is able to satisfy the boldest speculator, the profoundest thinker. And thus by its equal appeal to learned and unlearned, gentle and simple, warm heart as cool, critical head, it does seem as though in some sort it were worthy the proud name by which it calls itself,—Mahāyāna, the “Great Vehicle,” the “Big Cart,” in which not a select few only, but all sorts and conditions of men may make their way across the desert of conditioned existence to the safety and security of the unconditioned Nibbāna.

Sīlācāra.

SHIN UTTAMAGYAW AND HIS TAWLA, A NATURE POEM—III.

The third verse bears out the criticism in the prelude to Part I of this article as to the defective structure of the poem. It abruptly introduces the cold season leaving almost entirely out of account the whole of the period extending from *Wagaung* to *Tazaungmôn* (August to November). The two previous verses deal only with the latter part of the dry season and the earlier part of the rains. The period covered, therefore, begins from *Tagu* (April), the last month of the Burmese year, and ends in *Wazo* (July), the first month of the wet season.

The advent of winter is evident from the opening lines that refer to the seasonal flowers, *Thazin* and *Gamôn-in*, which bloom generally in *Nadaw* and *Pyatho* (December and January). The sentiment conveyed is that these flowers make their appearance for the sake of adoring the Blessed One in acknowledgment of the boundless debt of gratitude owed by humanity. The other characteristic features described in connection with the early part of the season, namely *Makāra* (Sagattarius) or *Pyatho* (January), are the appearance of the full moon attended by the *Nakshatra* Pussaha amidst other silvery orbs such as the crab, and the gradual movement of the Sun along the exterior path towards its remotest point.

Next in order follows a charming description of the chief phenomena in the heavens in *Kôn* (Aquarius) or in *Tabodwè* (February). They are the constellation known as the balance (*Libra*) and the *Nakshatra* Magha-than-gauk both of which shine in company with the full moon while she is at her zenith.

In the beginning of the month of *Pyatho* the sky is sometimes overcast with dark clouds on account of the residue of rain from the last preceding rainy season. In *Tabodwè* the weather is intensely cold though its aspects both on land and water are calm and fair as is evident from the flourishing condition of the *butea frondosa* whose young branches (as the poet observes) laden with tender buds swing gently in the air. For this reason these two months are regarded as unsuitable for Lord Buddha to proceed to the city of His father.

Before the season passes on to *Mein* (Pisces) or *Tabaung* (March) the *Thazin* and the *Gamôn-in* emit their grateful odour, while the most beautiful flowers of the remaining species, or in plainer words the commoner species such as the *Lettan*, also help to scent the air in the various forest-groves. The tender leaves of trees and plants are said to be so agitated by the gentle whirling breeze that they appear to be on the point of falling to the ground.

The description given for *Mein* or *Tabaung* is most inspiring. In the heavens, Cynthia and Phœbus have respectively as their attendants the *Nakshatra* Petguni and the constellation called the egret; in the rivers, shoals or banks of fine silvery sand become prominent; and in the forest-groves the *Padauk* and the *Tharapi* put forth their sweet smelling blossoms. Besides

that, early showers of rain fall and the atmosphere at times becomes. Besides that even a great saint would be affected by indefinable longings.

The verse concludes with a solemn scene. Birds of various species in their natural way spread their wings and bow down their heads with bills touching the ground and do honour to the most Venerable One in commemoration of the auspicious occasion on which He journeyed to Kapilavatthu.

ဝသန်ဟေမ။ ဂိမ္မအပြင်။ ရန်လှောင်ခဲ့။ These lines serve a twofold purpose: first as a eulogy on Buddha, and secondly as evidence of the coming of winter.

ဝသန်ဟေမ။ ဂိမ္မအပြင်။ ခွါဒသင်ဝယ်။ This passage simply means "at all seasons and times." Here the continual use of the words having a Pāli origin may be noticed. ဝသန် is from ဝသန္တ, ဟေမ from ဟေမန္တ and ဂိမ္မ from ဂိမ္မာန; and they mean respectively the wet season, the cold season and the dry season. But the last term ဂိမ္မ also exists as such in Pāli. အပြင် literally means "outside" or "surface." But here it signifies "one unbroken surface," or "one continuous whole," and has therefore the force of တပြင် which means "throughout." (Cf. တလျှောက်.) The expression ဝသန်ဟေမ။ ဂိမ္မအပြင်။ therefore means "throughout all the three seasons." ခွါဒသင် is used for the Pāli ခွါဒသ (twelve) where သ is changed into သင် for rhythmical purposes. (Cf. ခွါဒဝီ in the beginning of Verse I.) The term also refers to the zodiac which has twelve signs, and it signifies "the whole year" or "all the year round." The tautology of the expression ဝသန်ဟေမ။ ဂိမ္မအပြင်။ ခွါဒသင်ဝယ်။ may be noticed.

နဝင်္ဂကိုး။ ဂုဏ်တော်မြီးသာ။ This refers to the nine attributes of Buddha, namely:—

1. Arahant—One who has attained final sanctification.
2. Sammā-sambuddho—One who is truly enlightened or one who has a true and perfect knowledge of the truth.
3. Vijjā-carana-sampanno—One who is endowed with perfect knowledge and is perfect in conduct.
4. Sugato—One who walks well, and is happy and blest.
5. Lokavidū—One who knows the universe.
6. Anuttaropārisa-dhammasārati—Supreme guide of men whose passions have to be quelled.
7. Satthādeva-manussānam—Teacher of devas and men.
8. Buddhho—One who is enlightened; One possessed of infallible knowledge.
9. Bhagavā—The Blessed One.

နဝင်္ဂ is a Pāli compound made up of နဝ and ဂင်္ဂ, the former meaning "nine," and the latter "a division." ကိုး is a mere Burmese word also meaning "nine." ဂုဏ်တော် means "virtue" or "attribute;" and မြီး means "to become more and more dignified;" but its primary meaning is "to grow fat" or "to become opulent."

တန်ခိုးဘုန်းခြောက်။ လှုံတောက်ရောင်ခြည်။ ဘဝင်လည်မှု။ ခြောက်မည်ဥာဏ။ This refers to the sixfold glory, the six kindred rays or the rays of six colours, and the six kinds of knowledge.

တန်ခိုး and ဘုန်း are synonymous terms both meaning "power" or "glory." They are frequently used in combination as in ဘုန်းတန်ခိုးတိုးတက်သည် (to increase in power or glory). The six kinds of glory are:—

1. Issariya—Supremacy.
2. Dhamma—The Law.
3. Yasa—Fame.
4. Sirī—Magnificence.
5. Kâma—Gratification of every desire.
6. Payatta—Great diligence.

လျှံတောက်ရောင်ခြည် means "shining brightly with rays of light." ရောင်ခြည် here refers to the six coloured rays of light emitted from Buddha's body. The six colours are *nīla* (dark-blue), *pīta* (yellow), *lohita* (red), *odāta* (white), *Mañcattha* (dark-red) and *pabhassara* (bright mixed colour).

ခြောက်မည်ဥာဏ။ This alludes to the *cha-asādhārana ñāṇas*, that is the six kinds of knowledge possessed by Buddha alone. They are:—

1. Indriya-paropariyatti ñāṇa—Knowledge of the moral attainment of mankind.
2. Āsāyanusaya ñāṇa—Knowledge of human inclination or desire.
3. Yamakapātihāriya ñāṇa—Knowledge that enables one to perform the double miracle.
4. Mahākaruṇā-sampatti ñāṇa—Knowledge that enables one to meditate on the great compassion (for creatures).
5. Sabhaññūta ñāṇa—Omniscience.
6. Anāvarana ñāṇa—Knowledge that knows not the limitations of time.

သမ္ဗုဒ္ဓ၏ ဆုံးမခြင်း။ ကျေးဇူးအင်ကို။ This means "boundless or infinite benefits derived from Buddha." သမ္ဗုဒ္ဓ (Pāli) means "One who is thoroughly enlightened," or "One who knows or has discovered Truth, that is Buddha." ဆုံးမခြင်း simply means "endless, boundless, or infinite and incomparable." It is an idiomatic phrase. ကျေးဇူး means "kindness, benefit or obligation." အင် here means "magnitude, force or depth."

လှိုင်း in ရှိပန်လှိုင်း၍ means "pompously" or "magnificently."

ရွှေသိုင်းဝံ့ချီ၊ မိုးရင့်သီလျက်။ means "sweeping the sky as if with the wave or swing of a golden *thaing* (သိုင်း) or rod carried before an officer as an insignia of office." ဝံ့ means "to wave or swing round;" and ချီ means "to be lifted or raised up." မိုးရင့်သီလျက် means "sweeping the sky." ရင့်သီ stands for အရင့်သီ meaning "to sweep or to trail."

မတီကေတု။ တိုင်းဇေယျက။ သမုတိမှန်။ ကေသာနံသည်။ ရွှေလျှံသဇင်။ ဂုဏ်အင်လည်း။ It appears that in former days the *Thazin* (*Xanthophyllum Flavescens*) and the *Gamôn-in* (*Kempferia*) were held in great esteem by the royalty and that they were then known to grow only in the district of Toungoo.

မတီကေတု is for ကေတုမတီ, another name for Toungoo. တိုင်းဇေယျ means "the country of victory." ဇေယျ is derived from the Pāli ဇေယျ meaning "victory."

သမုတိမှန် signifies "the real elected king." The original meaning of this Pāli word သမုတိ or more correctly သမ္မုတိ is "consent, permission or choice." But the reference here is to kings or *sammuti devas*; that is *devas* by consent or choice of mankind. There are said to be three kinds of *devas*, viz.,

sammutidevas (kings), *upapattidevas* (nats), *visuddhidevas* (arahats). In Burmese a king is generally styled လောကသမုတိနတ်.

ကေသာ (Pâli) means 'hair.' နံ means 'to place, to put on or to wear.' သမုတိမှန်။ ကေသာနံသည်။ therefore means 'Real kings wear those flowers—the *Thazin* and the *Gamôn-in*—on their heads.'

ရွှေလျှံ in ရွှေလျှံသဇင် means 'gold coloured.' (Cf. လျှံတောက် in လျှံတောက်ရောင်ခြည် noticed above and also ရောင်လျှံတော်. There are said to be rays of glory on the forehead of Buddha and that part is therefore called ရောင်လျှံတော်).

ဥတင် is derived from the Pâli ဥတ္တံသ. It originally means 'excellence or exaltation;' but it here refers to the principal throne of state. မြင့် here means 'grandeur,' and ဘောင် signifies 'the whole.' ဥတင်မြင့်ဘောင် therefore refers to the whole palace.

ရနံ့လောင်ခဲ means 'diffused with scent.' လောင် here stands for လောင်း meaning 'to be diffusive.' It is here spelt လောင် for the sake of rhyme.

သီခေါင်မြင့်စွာ။ ဗွေအာကာသယ်။ စန်းနှင့်ယှဉ်၍။ This refers to the full-moon that is seen at midnight when the *Nakshatra* Phussha appears close by usually attended by the constellation known as the crab in the month of *Pyatho*.

သီခေါင်မြင့်စွာ။ ဗွေအာကာသယ်။ This expression simply means 'High up amid the sky.' သီခေါင် means 'far distant.' ဗွေ means 'amid or upon.' အာကာ is used for the Pâli အာကာသ meaning 'the sky.' နန်းယဉ် in ဖဿနန်းယဉ် means 'a palatial conveyance,' that is the *Nakshatra* Phussha itself. စန်း is an astrological term for the moon.

ကဉ္စနာဇလ်။ သူရတန်ဇူ။ ရွှေရွှေယုန်းခဲ။ The allusion is to the ecliptic or the sun in *Pyatho*. ကဉ္စနာ (Pâli) means 'gold'; ဇလ် is derived from the Pâli ဇလိကာ meaning 'crystal.' ကဉ္စနာဇလ် therefore refers to the sun which is said to be composed of gold within and crystal without. (Cf. ရွှေဇလ်ရိပ် in Verse II, line 3.) သူရတန် also refers to the sun. In fact it is one of the popular epithets of this luminary. It is the Pâli compound of သူရ and ကန္တ, the former meaning 'the Sun' and the latter 'loved, delightful or charming.' (Cf. စန္ဒရတန် the moon.)

ဗာဟိ is used for the Pâli ဗာဟိရ and it refers to ဗာဟိရိဝိထိ the exterior path.

ယွန်း means 'to travel, to proceed or to go.'

ဆန်းရာသီ။ မကာရဉ္စိ။ မဆန်ရွံ့ကြောက်။ This refers to the dullness of the weather owing to the formation of dark patches of rain-clouds in the sky in *Makâra* or *Pyatho*. Though not usual a few showers of rain fall in this country as late as *Tabodwè*. They are said to be the remnants of the last preceding season. Hence the saying တပို့တွဲရွံ့ရွံ့ခင်း။ သန်းမိုးကြွင်း။ But the allusion here is only to the gloomy aspect of the heavens in *Pyatho* indicating the presence of rain-clouds which have been left by the last rains. The same idea is expressed by Pothudaw U Min in one of his *Legyas* on the Seasons thus: "မကရ်အိမ်မှ။ တိမ်ခဲရင့်။ ပုလဲပွင့်မှ။ အတင့်ခံ။ သုအာနလ်။ သန်ကျန်လိလျှံ။ ပိုက်ဝန်းညိုလျှံ။"

မကာရ is the name of the tenth sign of the zodiac and it corresponds with the month of *Pyatho*. (Cf. မကရ် in the above quotation. It stands for မကာရ.)

လောကချစ်ရှင် means 'the lord who is loved by mankind' that is Buddha. လောက (Pâli) means "the world or mankind." စက်မြန်းချင်လည်း။ In plain Bur-

mese this would be စက်မြန်းချေင်သော်လည်း meaning 'though it is desirable that Buddha should be begged to proceed to.....' The reference is to the messages sent by King Suddhodana to Buddha at Rājagaha inviting Him to come to Kapilavatthu. When the king heard the news of his son's presence at Rājagaha, he thought to invite his son to his city. To that end he sent out one after another ten noblemen with one thousand followers each. With the exception of Kāludârī, the last of the ten, none carried out his mission. They all became *Rahans* with their followers after having heard the Law preached by Buddha, and so they did not care to return. But Kāludârī before he set out on his errand asked permission from the king to enter priesthood, but promised to fulfil his mission. He reached Rājagaha about the 8th waxing of *Tabaung*, and it was on the 1st waning of the same month that Buddha left for Kapilavatthu. It is said that it took two months to journey between the two cities. From this our poet seems to infer that the other noblemen were at Rājagaha long before Kāludârī arrived there and that their failure to move Buddha to go on a journey was due to the unsuitableness of the weather as set forth in this verse. So he incidentally refers to the account given above.

စက်မြန်း means 'to walk or to step.' (Cf. စက်တော်မြန်း and ကြောမြန်း which are applicable only to divinities and royalties.) စက် here refers to Buddha's foot or more particularly to the characteristic marks of Buddha's foot.

မင်ညွှာပေါက် refers to the large dark spots amidst curiously shaped clouds. မင် here means 'dark or inky.' ညွှာပေါက် is the same as သကြားပေါက်. It is a hole made in the ceiling of the royal palace on the North side to admit the သကြားမင်း (*Sakra*). This hole is conspicuous among the flourishes and flower-works of the ceiling. Hence the present allusion. ညွှာ (*Pāli*) means 'king of the *devas*,' that is *Sakra* or *Indra*.

မကန်းနွယ် refers to the streaks of clouds that form a series of rhombs resembling the scales of the မကန်း fish.

ဘယ်ရာသီကျန်၊ မဆန်ရွံ့ကြောက်။ This refers to the rain-clouds left by the last rainy season. Here the poet means to say that the rain-clouds have to obey Nature and that the showers in *Pyatho* are due to the fear on the part of the rain-clouds to go against her wishes.

The lines beginning from အထုံလှောက်၍ down to ကျောက်နန်းပဲ့ refer to *Kôn* or *Tabodwè*.

အထုံလှောက်။ means 'to mix up with or diffuse scent.'

ပေါက်လဲ in ငုံပေါက်လဲလှိုင် means the *butea* tree which flowers in *Tabodwè*.

လေဆိုင်ညွှာညွှန်၊ ကွန်စံသည့်နည်း။ The reference is to a young tender branch moving spirally by the force of the winds coming from several directions. ညွှာ is for အညွှာ meaning 'a petiole' or 'a leaf stalk'; and ညွှန် is for အညွှန် which means 'a young branch or leaf.' ကွန် and စံ both mean 'to enjoy one's self.' ငြိမ်ငြိမ် means 'gently'; and ခြည်း means 'slowly.' ကြည်း in ကြေးကြည်းမျှလို့ means 'land.' (Cf. ကုန်းကြည်း;) မျှလို့ for ညီမျှ means 'to be equal or consistent.' ယဉ်ပေါင်းချီသည် simply means 'full of grace.'

သိသီရိစက် means 'a cold disc,' that is the moon. It is so called because of the cooling effect produced by her. But if it is taken in connection with the following expression လများထက်၍ it may refer to the successive moons that appear in winter because the first part of the cold season is also called သိသီရိ.

လများထက်၍။ The reference is to the sun's ecliptic which is always one *yojanā* above the moon.

နေ့စက်မိမာန်။ means the sun itself. မိမာန် is derived from the Pāli မိမာန meaning 'a celestial mansion' o and e being interchangeable.

တိမ်ယဉ် also refers to the sun, the literal meaning being 'a carriage which flies through the clouds.' ယဉ် is derived from the Pāli ယာန meaning 'a conveyance' or 'a carriage.' It applies to animals also, as ဆင်ယဉ်။ မြင်းယဉ်။

ထိန်လုံခြည် means 'bright rays of light.' လုံခြည် is here used in the same sense as ရောင်ခြည် (rays of light). ပျောက် means 'to lose or to fade away altogether.' The passage နေ့စက်မိမာန်။ တိမ်ယဉ်ပျောက်။ ထိန်လုံခြည်ပျောက် simply means that the sun loses its brightness.

ဆွန် from the Pāli ဆဒ္ဒန္တ is the name of one of the ten kinds of elephants. Those belonging to this variety are the noblest of all. They are of white colour and their tusks are said to be radiant with the six kindred rays. ခေါက် means 'young.' It is used in this sense in connection with elephants only. It may sometimes mean an elephant itself. (E. g. ခေါက်ထီး a male elephant, and ခေါက်မ a female elephant.) A young elephant is called ဆင်ခေါက် while a full-grown one is termed ဆင်ပြောင်။ The term ဆွန်ခေါက် therefore means 'a young white elephant.'

ရောင်ခြောက် for ခြောက်ရောင် refers to the six kindred rays. မရှိ simply means 'not shining.' ခွယ်ဖျား means 'the pointed end of a tusk.' နုံ့ means 'to become clumsy in appearance or dull looking.' The meaning intended to be conveyed by this and the preceding passage is that the weather is so intensely cold and frosty that even the six kindred rays from the tusks of a *saddan* elephant lose their lustre and thereby the tusks themselves become clumsy in appearance while the sun also loses its brightness.

ကိုကြီးသိမ်။ နဝင်းအိမ်မှ။ This refers to the whole of the sign Aquarius, and means 'the Aquarius with its divisions and subdivisions.' ကို (Aquarius) is the name of the eleventh sign of the zodiac. The third part of each sign of the Zodiac is called ကြီး while the ninth part is termed နဝင်း. The word သိမ် is derived from the Pāli သိမာ and it means 'a boundary or limit.'

ချိန် which means 'a balance' is the name of a constellation which consists of three stars placed in the shape of a balance.

သံကောက်မာ stands for မာသသံကောက် which is another name for the *Nakshatra* Magha. It is so called because the four stars of which it consists are so situated as to appear like a crooked iron rod.

ရာနာစုံ means 'to be complete with the seven *ratanas* or things that are precious or desirable.' The seven *ratanās* (ရာနာ) or precious things are gold, silver, pearl, gems (such as ruby and sapphire), cat's eye, diamond and coral.

စိန် နီတုံ means 'the golden moon.' နီတုံ is the name of a species of gold.

ဘုံရေပွ။ ယုဂန်ဝက။ The wind that blows about Mount Yugandhara round which the sun and the moon move, is known as *Verambha* (ရေပွ), and the place from whence this wind blows is therefore termed here ဘုံရေပွ. The word ဘုံ means 'an abode' (Cf. လူ့ဘုံနတ်ဘုံ abode of men and nats.)

တည့်မွန်းမှန်သော် means 'when exactly at the zenith.' This alludes to the position of the moon, of the *Nakshatra* Magha, and of the constellation balance (*Libra*) at mid-night on the full moon day.

ရေလှုံသမုန် means 'the swelling seas.' လှုံ here means 'to overflow.' သမုန် is for the Sanscrit သမုဒြိ (the seas). The Pāli form is သမုဒ္ဒ.

ဗုဒ္ဓန်တုတ်လည်း။ လှိုင်းပုတ်မခံ။ ကျောက်နန်းစံခဲ့။ At this season owing to the heavy seas, the crabs take refuge in the holes of rocks. The metaphorical use of the expression ကျောက်နန်းစံခဲ့ may be noticed here.

The next passage beginning with မတန်ယဉ်ဆုံး။ and ending with လွန်ဟန်တင့်ဆုံး။ refers to the beginning of *Mein* (*Tabaung*) just after the expiry of *Kôn* (*Tabodwè*). Cf. မိန့်အလွန်းပေမို့။ တစ်ပြင်းချယ်သစ်ပြန်တော့။ နယ်ရှစ်ခွင်ကုမိုင်းလို့။ မြိုင်းမှို။ ။ဘုံသူရကန်။ ထောင်ခြည်ပျံသည်။ ရောင်လှုံရိပ်ရိပ်။ ခေါင်းတံဆိပ်မူ။ သောင်းထိပ်ကယ်မြန်မြေ။ သာပစေဟု။ ဒေသစာပြီ။ နန်းမဟီက။ ယာထိမြန်းရှင်။ လယ်လမ်းဘဝင်သောခါ။ သခင်နှင့်လက်တန်ငယ်။ မြတ်ပန် တော်မီအောင်ဆိုင်းချည်ထင်း။ စုံတိုင်းမှာသ ရေတင့်ပါဘိ။ ဖူးပွင့်ကိုက်ပုံ။ (*Pothudaw U Min.*) (The season has just entered *Mein* and the atmosphere is hazy on all sides. The sun as if to make Burma pleasant returns from the exterior to the middle path, while the *Thazin* and the *Lettan* after having waited probably to be put to use by the royalty again put forth their buds and blossoms and turn every forest-grove into a delightful scene.)

မတန်ယဉ်ဆုံး။ အင်ဂမုန်းနှင့်။ နန်းသုံးသတင်။ In this passage မတန် qualifies အင်ဂမုန်း and သတင်, and it means 'that which is produced out of season' (Cf. မတန်သီး—fruits produced out of season, whether early or late.) Here the late appearance of these flowers when winter is about to expire is referred to.

အင်ဂမုန်း is used for ဂမုန်းအင်. The transposition of syllables in a word for the sake of rhyme is noticeable. It seems to be a favourite trick of our poet. In the same verse he has မတီကောတု for ကောတုမတီ, ဧဗ္ဗအာကာဝယ် for အာကာဧဗ္ဗဝယ်, ရောင်ခြောက် for ခြောက်ရောင်, သံကောက်မာ for မာသသံကောက်, ဘုံဝေရဗ္ဗ for ဝေရဗ္ဗဘုံ, ခဲမုတ္တာ for မုတ္တာခဲ, ရေဖက်ဆွတ် for ဖက်ဆွတ်ရေ and မိုးမြို့ for မြို့မိုး.

မင်းလွင် in မင်းလွင်လိုလို means 'the atmosphere thick with vapour representing a hazy view.' (Cf. မုန်တိုင်းကဆင်း။ မင်းလွင်ကမြို့။ လေရူးကလာ။ *Twinthin Taikwun's Janaka Pyo.*) လိုလို means 'resembling somewhat.'

စုံတမိုး is the same as စုံတကျော or စုံတလျှောက်, and it means 'throughout a forest grove.'

လေချိုဝန်းလှ။ လွှမ်းရတဉ်။ ရွက်နုမပြို။ မြေနှင့်ချိန်လျက်။ This refers to the whirling winds which come in this pleasant season causing the tender leaves to be on the verge of falling to the ground.

မြေနှင့်ချိန် means 'to bend towards the ground.'

စိန်-မြိုင်-ရဂုံ These three are synonymous terms with different shades of meaning. They are generally used in a sense similar to တော, a grove, forest or wood (Cf. စိန်မြိုင်မြိုင်စိုး ရိပ်ကြီးတောတောင်။ *U Do's Rama Yagan.*)

အမု in အမုချပ်ရင် means 'an incipient bud.'

လက်တန် is a species of orchid. လောင်းပန်းကုန် refers to the other late flowers inferior to the *Thazin* and the *Gamôn-in*. (Cf. မြတ်ပန်တော်ပန်း။ မိုင်လုံးလန်းကု။ ဟိုလောင်းပန်းပွင့်။ ဘယ်ဂုဏ်နှင့်ဝင့်မလဲ။ ဘုန်းနှင့်ကံနှင့်ရွှေသတင်။ *U Do's Rama Yagan.*) Here လောင်းပန်း appears to mean any common flower of a plant that is stunted because it grows in the shade.

The remaining lines from ပြာရိခြံလျက်။ မိုင်မှဆင်လာ။ down to the end merely refer to *Mein* or *Tabaung*.

ခဲမုတ္တာ here refers to the colour of the clouds resembling that of a cluster of pearls. မုတ္တာ is a pure Pāli word for pearl. မိုးရာသီခွင်။ မိန့်သဘင်မှာ။ means 'the *Mein* festival held in this part of the season.' The reference

here seems to be to the State festival held annually by the Burmese kings in *Tabaung*. Otherwise this passage simply means 'during *Mein* (*Tabaung*).'

ငွေစင်ရထား။ ယန္တရားလည်း။ refers to the moon. ယန္တရား means 'an engine or machine.'

ဗျူကီ is another name for the *Nakshatra* Uttaraparagunni which goes abreast of the full moon in *Mein*.

မျိုင်းတာရာ means 'the constellation known as the egret.' This constellation never follows Petguni, the *Nakshatra* attendant on the full moon in *Mein*. The constellation which accompanies this *Nakshatra* is known as the balance (*Libra*). The egret is mentioned here probably because its proper position on the sun's ecliptic is in *Mein*. It travels with the *Nakshatras* Pyuppabadrappaik, Uttarabadrappaik and Revati all of which are in *Mein*. There are nine principal or interior constellations, namely ကျီး, တင်္ဘာ, ဗွတ္တန်၊ ချိန်, ဆန်ကျင်, ကေတု or တံငါ, ဆင်, မြင်း, မျိုင်း (the crow, the sheldrake, the crab, the balance, the hair-pin, the fisherman, the elephant, the pony, the egret.) Their movement along the ecliptic of the sun is as shown below. The crow goes in company with the *Nakshatras* Asavanî, Baranî and Kyatikâ; the sheldrake with Rohanî, Migasî and Bhadrâ; the crab with Punna-phusshu, Phussha, and Assalissa; the balance with Mâgha, Pyubbâparagunni and Uttarâparagunni; the hair-pin with Hassada, Citra and Swâdî; the fisherman with Visâkhâ, Anurâdha and Jetthâ; the elephant with Mûla, Pruppâsan and Uttarâsan; the pony with Saravun, Dhanasiddha and Sattabhishsa; and the egret with Pyuppâbadrappaik, Uttarâbadrappaik and Revati. The distribution of the constellations in the 12 signs of the zodiac is thus:— the crow is in Meiktha or Pyeiktha, the sheldrake in Medôn, the crab in Karakat, the balance in Thein, the hair-pin in Kan or Tu, the fisherman in Byeiksa or Dhanu, the elephant in Makâra, the pony in Kôn, and the egret in Mein. (*Vide* the arrangement and distribution of the 27 *Nakshatras* in the 12 signs of the zodiac in Part I of this Article.)

ဝိတာက is a species of *pterocarpus*, a yellow flower which appears in *Tabaung* or more usually in *Tagu*. It is generally believed that the rains always begin as soon as the *Padauk* tree blooms for the third time.

ဖူးညောင် means 'a young bud.' ညောင် from အညောင် means 'a sprout' (Cf. အပွို၊ အတက်၊ အညွန့် and အညှာ.)

သိဒါသိဝယ်။ For the meaning of သိဝ် see above. သောင်တိဝ်ဌေ။ သဲမွန့်န့်။ means a shoal with fine silvery sands. The fine grains of the white sand are here compared to tiny silvery eggs. သဲမွန့် means 'the surface of the fine sand.'

ဝတ်စုညွန့်ချီ။ The word ဝတ် is used for ဝတ်ဆံ or ဝတ်မှု meaning the pollen of a flower. စု means 'to collect.' ညွန့် is for အညွန့် which means a young branch or leaf. ချီ means 'to be lifted or raised up.' ဝတ်စုညွန့်ချီ therefore means 'the buds are forming and the young leaves are springing up.'

သရီ (*Calophyllum Kunstleri* or *Calophyllum Spectabila*) is also a species of yellow flower entirely filled with farnia.

ရေဟင်ဆွတ်န့်။ ချွေလွတ်ဆော့။ သည်ချိန်ခါကို။ This refers to the time when early showers in *Tabaung* fall. The water from such showers gets into rivers and streams after being mixed up with fallen leaves. In consequence this water is termed ရေဟင်ဆွတ် or ဟင်ဆွတ်ရေ. To drink such water is said to be very dangerous, for in the delta towns and villages where river water is

used for drinking purposes, people are often stricken with jungle fever about this season.

ရွှေလွှတ်ဆော့စွာ။ Here the downpour of rain is probably compared to the fall of fruits after being detached from the tree. ရွှေ means 'to pluck' and လွှတ် 'to discharge.' ဆော့စွာ here means 'early' and not 'rapidly.'

သောတာပန်မည်။ မဟာထေရ်တို့။ မကြည်နိုင်အောင်။ မိုးမြို့မှောင်ခွဲ။ This passage shows to what extent the atmosphere is darkened by mist in *Tabaung*. The meaning is that the weather is so misty that even the mind of a saint would be filled with nameless yearnings.

သောတာပန် is derived from the Pāli သောတာပန္န (one who has attained the first grade of sanctification). မဟာထေရ်တို့ means 'eminent priests.'

ဘုန်းခေါင်ပရမေ။ သုံးလူ့ဆွေလျှင်။ This means Buddha, the most eminent Master of men, nats and Brahmas. (*Vide* notes on the first verse.)

ဒေသစာရီ (Pāli) means 'to go on a journey.'

ပြည်ကပ္ပိသို့။ ကြံချီအာသနံ။ ချိန်ခါတန်ကို။ This reference to the journey of Buddha to Kapilavatthu shows simply that the journey was undertaken in *Tabaung*.

နှုတ် in မြေနုတ်ဖိုက်၍ is a contraction of နှုတ်သီး which means 'a bill' or 'a beak.'

အလိုက်တာသာ means 'according to their nature.'

တသံ is a species of *Casarea rutila* or the sheldrake.

သောင်တင်း is a species of bird resembling the gull.

ပိန်ညင်း and ဇင်ရှေ respectively mean the king-fisher and the tern.

ငှက်တော် is the Burmese name for the hair-crested drongo. It is a kind of bird with a fine long tail and is often seen sitting on cattle.

ကြီးကြာ means the crane or Sarus. This bird is noted for its sweet voice.

သာရကာ is a poetical name for သာလိကာ (the large mina). The scientific name for it is *Gracula intermedia*.

တမာ and ကြက်တော both mean parrots, but they are of different species. The latter is larger than the former.

ဥဩ is a species of black cuckoo (or koel).

ငှက်ကျား is the stork.

ငှက်ငန္တာ။ The Imperial pigeon is known in Burmese by that name.

ဘီလုံး is a kind of small bird.

ငုံးချိုးခါ mean the quail, the dove and the partridge.

မြိန်း in တောကြက်တောင်ပံလမြိန်းတည်း။ is an onomatopoeic word. It is formed to resemble the sounds caused by the flapping of the wings of a feathered creature, which is here spoken of as a jungle fowl (တောကြက်).

The expression လမြိန်းတည်း is equivalent to မြိန်းမြိန်းတည်း which is emphatic.

Po BYU.

III

၃။ ။ဝသန်ဟောမ။ ဂိဗ္ဗအပြင်။ ဒွါဒသဝယ်။ နဝင်ကိုး။ ဂုဏ်တော်ပြီးသား။ တန်ခိုးတုန်းခြောက်လုံ။ တောက်ရောင်ခြည်။ ဘဝင်လည်မျှ။ ခြောက်မည်ဉာဏ။ သံဃုဒ္ဓ၏။ ဆုံးဆမမြင်။ ကျေးဇူးအင်ကို။ ကြည်လင်ရစ်ဝိုင်း။ ရှိပန်လှိုင်း၍။ ရွှေသိုင်းဝင့်ချီ။ မိုးရင့်သီလျက်။ မတီကေတု။ တိုင်းဇေယျက။ သမုတိမှန်။ ကေသာနံသည်။ ရွှေလျှံသဖင်။ ဂမုန်းအင်လည်း။ ဥကင်မြင့်တောင်။ ရနံ့လှောင်ခွဲ။ သီခေါင်မြင့်စွာ။ ဗုဒ္ဓအာကာဝယ်။ ငွေတာရာခေ။ ကက္ကုဒ္ဓနှင့်။ ဖုသျှန်နံယဉ်။ စန်းနှင့်ယဉ်၍။ ကညွနာဖလ်။ သူရကန်မှ။ စံဗာဟိစွန်။ ရွှေရွှေယွန်းခွဲ။ ဆန်းရာသီ။ မကာရဉ္စ။ လောကချစ်ရှင်။ စက်မြန်းချင်လည်း။ မင်ဋ္ဌန္တာပေါက်။ တိမ်တ

လျှောက်မှာ။ ကြိုးခေါက်ဆန်းကြယ်။ မကန်းနှယ်နှင့်။ ဘယ်ရာသီကျန်။ မဆန်ရွံ့ကြောက်။ အထုံလှောက်၍။
 ငုံပေါက်လဲလှိုင်။ လေဆိုင်ညွှာညွှန်။ ကွန်စံသည့်နည်း။ ငြိမ်ငြိမ်ဖြည်းလျက်။ ရေကြည်းမျှညီ။ ယင်ပေါင်းချီ
 သည်။ သိသိရစက်။ လများထက်၍။ နေစက်မိမာန်။ တိမ်ယဉ်ပျံဝယ်။ ထိန်လုံခြည်ပျောက်။ ဆဋ္ဌန်ပေါက်
 မူ။ ရောင်ခြောက်မပြီ။ စွယ်ဖျားနံ့လျက်။ ကုံ့ ကြင်သိမ်။ နဝင်းအိမ်မှာ။ ရွှေချိန်တာရာ။ သံကောက်မာနှင့်။
 ရတနာစုံ။ စန်းနီတုံလည်။ ဘုံဝေရမ္မ။ ယုဂန်ဝက။ ပပထွန်းလျှံ။ တည့်မွန်းမှန်သော်။ ရေလျှံသမုန်။ ဗုဒ္ဓန်
 တုတ်လည်။ လှိုင်းပုတ်မခံ။ ကျောက်နန်းစံခွဲ။ မတန်ယဉ်ဆုံ။ အင်ဂမုန်းနှင့်။ နန်းသုံးသဇင်။ ကြိုင်သင်းရှင်
 ၍။ မင်းလွင်လိုလို။ စုံတခိုဝယ်။ လေချိုဝန်းလျှံ။ လွမ်းရတု၍။ ရွက်နုမငြိမ်။ မြေနှင့်ချိန်လျက်။ စိမ်းမြိုင်ရဂုံ။ ကြိုင်
 လှိုင်ထုံသည်။ အမုံချပ်ရပ်။ ဖူးငုံကပ်၍။ လှည့်ပတ်လက်တန်။ လောင်းပန်းကျန်မူ။ လွန်ဟန်တင့်ဆုံ။ ပြာရီခြံ
 လျက်။ မှိုင်းမှန်ဆင်လာ။ ခဲမုတ္တာနှင့်။ ချိန်ရာသီခွင်။ မိန်သဘင်မှာ။ ငွေစင်ရထား။ ယန္တရားသည်။ အသွား
 တူညီ။ ဖဂ္ဂဏီနှင့်။ ယဉ်မှီတွဲကာ။ မျိုင်းတာရာတို့။ မြိုင်မှာမြိုင်လျောက်။ ရွှေပိတောက်လည်။ ဖူးညွှောက်
 ပွင့်ချိန်။ သီဒါသိမ်ဝယ်။ သောင်တိမ်ငွေညှံ။ သဲဗွေနှင့်။ ဝတ်စုညွှန်ချီ။ သရဖီမူ။ ကြိုင်ဆီလှိုင်သတ်။ ရေဖက်
 ဆွတ်တည့်။ ချောလွှတ်ဆော့စွာ။ သည်ချိန်ခါကို။ သောတာပန်မည်။ မဟာထေရ်တို့။ မကြည်နိုင်အောင်။ ခိုး
 မြှောင်ခွံ။ ဘုန်းခေါင်ပရမေ။ သုံးလူ့ဆွေလျှင်။ ဒေသစာရီ။ ပြည်ကပ္ပိသို့။ ကြွချီအာသန်။ ချိန်ခါတန်ကို။
 တောင်ပုံရှက်ငိုက်။ မြေနုတ်ဖိုက်၍။ အလိုက်ဘာသာ။ ဟင်္သာသောင်တင်။ ပိန်ညှင်းဇင်ရော်။ ငှက်တော်ကြိုး
 ကြာ။ သာရကာနှင့်။ တမာကြက်တော။ ဥဩငှက်ကျား။ ငှက်ငန္တာလည်။ ဝပ်တွားဘီလုံး။ ရှေ့ငုံးချိုးခါ။ သူ
 တို့မှာမူ။ မြတ်စွာဘုရား။ သုံးလူဖျားကို။ တတ်အားသမျှ။ ဖူးကုန်ကြလျက်။ ရှိစုံဆက်သည်။ ။တောကြက်
 တောင်ပုံလဖြန်းတည်။

From season to season all the long year thro, the thrice-three attri-
 butes of Sakyamuni retain their pristine splendour. Blest with six-fold
 wisdom, He is crowned with the six glories that flame and touch the skirts
 of the sky. The golden-breasted *thazin* and the *gamôn-in* bow full joy-
 ously in *Ketumadi*, that land of victory. They gaily nod and bend in the
 welkin blue adoring the Sage to whom humanity owes a boundless debt of
 thanks. He who wears a crown is wont to grace his brow with these laugh-
 ing flowers that diffuse their sweets thro the palace air.

In the spangled sky, the crab and *Phussha* shed their glad gleam in the
 train of the musing moon. The sun veers in its course towards the outer
 path.

In the month of *Pyatho* the firmament is wrapt in fretted clouds fleck-
 ed with darkful spots. The pent-up vapours must needs pour forth in
 showers. The season is all unmeet for the Beloved to set out for the royal
 city.

The *butea* bloom bursts in a thrill of scent and rustles in the breeze.
 Both land and water surge with waving blossoms that fire the air with a
 joyful blaze.

Over the moist moon the sun's glad gold is lost in the mantle of cloud.
 The fair tusk of the young white elephant looks forlorn for the frosty air
 has quenched its six rays.

As the sun is seen in Aquarius, Libra and *Maga* dart their mellow
 beams. Bright with the gay medley of silver and gold and gems, the moon
 moves slow from *Yugan's* brow. At dead of night, she shines full and the
 seas overflow their bounds and crabs hide in craggy holes for the violence of
 the waves.

The *gamôn-in* and the *thazin*, loth to depart, bloom and scent in the air,
 tho' their season is past. The air is hazy and the young leaves of the woods,

toss and droop in an eddy of soft breezes. The sylvan region is laden with fragrance. The *lettan* and meaner flowers are gay with blushing buds and peeping bells.

The *Tabaung* sky looks dismal and is dappled with pearly clouds. *Petguni* and the egret shine by the side of the silvery moon. *Padauk* buds and blooms cluster round the branches.

Rivers and rills seem glorious with silvery sands. The *tharapi* buds and sprouts and sheds its sweetness. The early fall of rain forms torrents that sweep sere leaves into larger streams. The touching mingle of mist and gloom fills even the spirits of saints with nameless longings. In this self-same season, the Sage journeyed to Kapilawut—the seat of the king. Sheldrakes, *thaungdins*, kingfishers, terns, drongoes, saruses, minas, parrots, cuckoos, storks, imperial pigeons, *bilôns*, quails, doves and partridges stretch their wings and bend their beaks to the ground and render reverence after their kind. The forest rings with the clapping of wings.

B. H.

THE BURMESE DRAMA.

Dramatic art, with the Burmans, is still to be developed; and if it is destined to be a brilliant gem in the crown of the Burmese literary glory, this destiny has certainly still to be achieved.

Evolved from distant and obscure origins, it first found a distinct voice in U Ponnya and some mediocre followers. Since then, the drama as a part of the literature of the land has been almost silent, at any rate, it has been without any worthy exponent.

In common with the dramas of Europe, the sources of the Burmese drama are of two sorts: the secular and the religious.

The passion for sightseeing, the desire to listen to stories and the craving for amusement and laughable things, inherent in most men, contribute greatly towards the development of the secular drama.

The professional story-teller travelled about from place to place to tell stories. At first, he was a very mechanical sort of story-teller reciting tales by rote. But experience and the artistic temperament of the story-teller, later on, brought about some change in the method of delivery. Stories were not, now, narrated at length; dialogues took the place of narration: and the story-teller, using gesticulations and modulations of his voice, had to vary these to suit the character of the person, whom he was at the moment representing. In himself, he is the complete dramatic troupe. His lips, shoulders, fingers or face were twisted or spread out as he thought best to suit the delivery; and he shouted, murmured, whispered or allowed his voice to expire to be in keeping with the character, whom for the moment he was representing. Here, we have the germ of the modern drama.

The transition from these performances to the regular drama is so natural and so easy, that it could scarce attract notice; and there is no record of such a transition.

The year is divided by feasts; the months of Tagu and Kason are the great occasions of water-festivals; the month of Wazo, of the offering of flowers; the month of Thadingyut, of the offering of yellow robes and the Tawateintha (Tāvatiṃsa) festival; that of the remaining portions of the year being occasions for different festivals at different places. These feasts were, and they still are great events: people think of them long before-hand and see them in the distance. These days are days of rejoicing mainly of a religious character.

On these principal feasts, actors present religious dramas to recall the action which the occasion celebrates. Thus, on the occasion of the Tawateintha (Tāvatiṃsa) festival, the Buddha descending from the abode of Nats is dramatically represented. On the occasion of the Nigrodha festival (in November of each year), the coming of the caravans, who brought the news of the Buddha's presense at Rājagriha to his father, the invitation of the Buddha by his father through Kāludāyī, the miracles performed by the Buddha at Kapilavatthu, and the donning of the robes by the Buddha's son, Rāhula are all enacted—at least at Bassein.

On these occasions the city or the town is given up to the dramatic art; each company of amateurs has its own cars, scaffoldings, huge basket elephants, tigers, and other animals, the cars being meant to represent the places where the events in the play happened, and the huge basket or wooden animals being used in the representation of the plays. The cars as well as the wooden figures of animals are placed on wheels; and the pageants passed along the road, and, generally, the complete series of scenes is witnessed at the main crossings or at the market place.

The other source of religious drama is perhaps the sacrificial dances of the 37 Nats (၃၇-မင်း). In sacrificing to any one of these spirits, the priestess (let us say) of these gods has to wear certain costumes such as are said to have been worn by the god when he was a man, and the priestess has to act, in some ways, as if she were the god himself. She has to speak a monologue representing the god, with appropriate gestures.

These are the religious sources of the drama in the beginning.

But as time went on, the religious and the secular drama intermingled and the modern drama is the result.

In the development of the Burmese drama, as we know it now, there are a few other factors—though not so important as those above enumerated. The influence of the Indian drama is seen in such plays naturalized in Burma as *Yāma*, (from the Indian *Rāmāyana*). And the influence of certain dramatic-novels, as the *Indāvamsa* (ဣန္ဒာဝံသ) and the *Vijayakārī* (ဝိဇယကာရီ) by the Crown Princess in the reign of King Mindon, as well as *ဌိနောင်* or *ဣန္ဒာဝံသ* by Myawati Mingyi on the modern drama is not trivial. Their length, the inclusion of extraneous everyday talk, the absence of a coherent plot make us reject the claim of these works to be considered as dramas. Yet the lively dialogue, the revelation of the inmost secrets of the Burmese court life, the absence of any awkwardness in the flow of language, the form of speeches, the analysis of the feelings of jealousy by the wife of a polygamous prince, often carried out with great preciseness and sincerity, and the analysis of sensual love—not very deep, it is true, but carried out with charming superficiality—all mark the artist; and were responsible for the precipitation of the Burmese drama.

However developed, and from whatever source, the drama of a nation reflects the character of the people. The Burman is a child of romance; and the Burmese drama is tinged with the gorgeous—if sometimes, vulgar—hues of romance. Beauty of form, beauty of expression, beautiful lack of reserve and discipline, the supernatural element persisting throughout the plays are characteristic of the Burmese drama.

The romantic element may be crude; but it is still the romantic. The three unities of the classical dramas were and are unknown to the Burmans; some plays occupying even three lives of a man or a woman.

A prince went to Taxila (the conventional university town of the stage); and his prowess attracted the principal (so to speak) of the university and his person, the principal's daughter. They loved: they were married.

They returned home to the Prince's country. On the way, they were surprised while sleeping by an ogress, who was smitten with passion for the prince. What could she do less than kill the princess? And by stage con-

vention the ogress desirous of killing a fair rival drops her from the top of a high mountain. Fortunately for the princess—at least for the present—the guardian god of the mountain was there to help her. The princess then disguised herself as a Brahmin—this disguise as a Brahmin, too, is a conventional stage property—and went towards her husband's country.

In the meantime, the ogress disguised herself as the princess; and went away with the prince towards the prince's country. The King, the prince's father, had died before the prince came back—another piece of convention—and the prince became the king, with the supposed princess—the ogress—as the queen.

The princess came to the capital and rested at the royal gardener's house. The ogress knew of it; and came and murdered her. The princess became a peacock—not a pea-hen, which is less beautiful for stage-effect—and flew to the King's palace to tell her tale of sorrow.

The sorrow was genuine; the tale was sweet and tragic. But how could the king understand the peacock? The ogress was there too; and knew what the peacock meant and who it was. So she had the peacock shot. Transfixed with an arrow, the peacock managed to run to the gardener's house and tell him to bury her in a certain place before she died. The peacock was buried and a tree grew from that place; and who—ever entered the shade of the tree could not but cry. The king came; and when he touched the tree, it turned into his princess. The ogress was detected and killed.

The feeling for measure is ignored in the Burmese plays; and if we must believe Jusserand's, "a feeling for measure is a product of civilization" the Burman is the man of the people—at least, in dramatic art. In *Wizaya*, for instance, we have at one moment *Wizaya* reproaching and insulting *Kuwanna*, the ogress in words impossible to quote; the next moment when the ogress has changed herself into the form of a human being, we have as tender and loving a speech as we ever have in any literature, addressed by the self-same *Wizaya* to the transformed ogress. Is it the lack of sense of measure? Perhaps; or is it a subtle method of showing up *Wizaya's* character as a fickle lover, who flies from flower to flower of womanhood guided only by his eyes? Perhaps, *U Ponnya* is here following the convention of Burmese dramatists in portraying men, (the male race), as led away by the spectacular and the sensual. Even if we so interpret this, it shows a lack of the sense of balance in representing *Wizaya* at once as the pious, sensible and good man and king, and as the fickle lover, swayed merely by passion. To draw more examples from the modern dramas showing the absence of the sense of measure is very easy; but is an unpleasant task.

But we must not for this fault say that *U Ponnya* and the Burmese dramatists have failed in their business. They achieved that which they tried to achieve; and it is not their fault if we do not find in their plays, what we want to see portrayed and what they did not try to portray. The elegance of form, the music of words, and the sheer poetry of the verse and the prose passages are all they strive to excel in; and they have excelled. It may be a national preference and prejudice; but to a Burman, the musical flow of the prose and verse, the elegant form of speeches, the sheer poetry of description

abounding in U Ponnya—as well as on the modern stage—can find no parallel in any other poet or in any other language—even if the other poet be Shakespeare and the other language the soft liquid language of Italy—But while revelling in the musical flow of words and the word pictures, we cannot forget that the plot on which these speeches are strung is not very coherent. The form and the poetry of expressions alone were regarded as important; and we have no subtle coherent plots as we have in Shakespeare. Action after action is represented; not their coherent unity but their adaptability to beautiful verses and descriptions being the main consideration.

The Buddhist—or rather the Burmese-Buddhist-theory of “fate” has a great influence on the drama of the past and of the present. Patient resignation to what is ordained by fate is thought to be a virtue; and the actions of the dramas are generally very tame and insipid. Every now and then gods come in to help; and the human interest of the plot is greatly lessened. Yet it is not the theory solely we have to thank for this defect. We must also ascribe it to the proverbial easy-going character of the Burman. The representation of a strong soul fighting against the bitter fate; fighting, defeated, yet fighting still; fighting without giving in till death, would be a very powerful plot,—the tragic majesty of the strong man fighting against great odds.

It is not to be expected that the psychology of the dramas should be very deep. Indeed, real study and observation of character at first hand are very difficult to find throughout the range of the Burmese drama. Certain maxims regarding the group character of men and women are taken for granted; and the men or women are portrayed in accordance with them. If the woman is to be faithful she is woodenly faithful. If she is to be false, why, then, have we not a maxim that, “there is no river that is not crooked and there is no woman that is not false?”

When Wizaya comes to love Kuwanna, whom a moment before he is reviling in very horrible language, there is the opportunity and necessity for real analysis of character. But whether reasonable or unreasonable we must accept that Wizaya now is in love with Kuwanna—a very highly improbable story.

When Kuwanna agrees to accept Wizaya's love, she does it in the plainest fashion—the sensual and the sensual portion, only, of love is portrayed; and alarming to note, this is more and more portrayed to the present day.

When Kuwanna agrees to kill her own relations, we are not told how she was forced to the deed. Her love for Wizaya, we cannot believe to be intense enough for it—at least, as far as the play represents it; and in order that the action may proceed, the dramatist does not stop to reconcile the incongruities. Indeed it is questionable if he detected his incongruities; and the real analysis of human emotions and characters can be best done in reconciling these apparent incongruities.

In the play of Paduma again, the princess, when she prompts the cripple does it in a fashion which no woman could—I am sure—would have been possible. Here are opportunities for a very good analysis of human emotions, the complex machinery of human character.

A woman in the Burmese drama is conventionally false; a Brahmin (၁၅၃) is always ungrateful and evil-minded; a man always transfers his

love as often almost as we change clothes; and the convention is almost always maintained.

Indeed, it seems to me that the dramatists never thought it possible for a man to harbour evil feelings together and at the same time with good feelings. A man must be thoroughly bad or thoroughly good. But is this true to life? The complexity of human psychology has not yet been grasped by the dramatists—or if they did realise it at all, they had only a very vague glimpse of it. In these respects, the Burmese drama may in general be called the drama of “humours.” For the moment, at least, the man or the woman is obsessed with a certain “humour” to the exclusion of every other feeling.

So much for the written dramas. The modern dramatic works, which swarm in thousands, are really all very bad; they have all the faults above indicated, and very seldom have the redeeming quality of U Ponnya's plays—the beauty of expression, the musical flow of language, and the sheer poetry very abundant in them.

The stage as we have it at the present day is a thing of only a few decades' growth. Forty years ago there was no dramatic representation resembling that of the present day. There was no scenery; and the players had to depend upon word pictures.

But within the last forty years, scenery has been introduced imitated, no doubt from the west. And at the present day, the really good dramatists are actors. The play-writer is a hack-writer merely.

But the plays have not been written down, and the drama, or at least that part of it which is literature, seems to be silent. Yet, we have the gramophone. Why should not these records be that part of the modern drama, which is not mere amusement? The play is not the work of one man or woman; but that need not detract from its value. Whether Shakespeare wrote the plays known under his name or whether a set of writers wrote them, really does not matter. It is the work that is important in the history of the literature.

The faults, already noticed about U Ponnya's plays, apply to the modern stage as well, as also do the redeeming qualities of U Ponnya's plays. But the one fault, not shared by U Ponnya, is the extreme conventionality of the stage.

The play, on the stage, must always open with the council chamber of the minister; then must come the scene in the king's Presence; and then must come the first appearance of the prince and the princess or the hero and the heroine; they must then execute a dance. နှစ်လေး or သဘာဝ and only about past 2 a. m., can the real play start. These scenes are almost always unnecessary; but convention and custom have ordained that it must be so. In these portions of the representation of the play, it is that we have the extraneous talk and laughter-making introduced by the “lubyets.” The play proper begins only after the “နှစ်လေး”; and it is only after this scene, that really good representation of various characters is to be expected; and with charming shallowness and *superficial* truth to life, they are represented. The indecent gestic of the “lubyets,” the moving in two different spheres at once of the actors—half hiding of their own individuality of Po Sein or whoever it

may be and half assumption only of the character, which he or she is representing—, the extraneous talk, the unnecessary but conventional “နှစ်ဝါးသွား” have been imposed upon the stage by custom and by the worshipful company of ကာလသား. And we shall wait and see when the custom, and the taste of the ကာလသား will be changed or will be forced to change—a great day truly for our Burmese drama.

E MAUNG.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

A VOTIVE TABLET FOUND BY TREASURE-HUNTERS AT AKYAB.

In the literature of Arakan, there exists an extensive collection of works dealing with the burial of treasure dedicated by various persons, in various ages, to pagodas, temples and other religious works of merit. These manuscripts form a faithful record of the exact locality, the kind of treasure buried, the object for which it is dedicated, the names of donors and the date.* From the very nature of these works it must be admitted that they are of considerable historical value since they set forth, in clear and lucid language, the exact age of the structures which are so widely distributed throughout this Division.

But on the other hand, it is to be greatly regretted that unscrupulous persons, taking advantage of their knowledge of such manuscripts, are now making it a practice to secretly despoil historic monuments with the object of enriching themselves. Of late, this practice has grown to such great proportions that a casual visitor to Arakan will not fail to notice, at first hand, the traces of vandalism to be met with in almost all pagodas and temples especially in the old town of Myohaung. Such a state of affairs should be stopped as soon as possible, because, apart from the value of the treasure carried away, the danger they create by indiscriminately boring into these structures is so great, that, in a few years, nature completes the ruin begun by man. Thus a temple, on which all the skill and resources of a former age were lavished, and whose years in the ordinary course of things might have counted by centuries, becomes a heap of ruin in a comparatively short time.

In the days of the Arakanese kings, this sort of thing was not possible as they were all Defenders of the Faith, whose sole occupation, in times of peace, was the erection of religious structures or the repairing of the more famous historic monuments within the limits of their kingdom. In fact, but for foreign invasions whose object generally was the destruction, through jealousy, of notable shrines and the carrying away of valuable images, the number of these sacred buildings usually increased from age to age, and they were not destroyed, as at present.

Panâkprin village is situated about ten miles to the east of Akyab. It is a small unpretentious hamlet which nestles at the foot of a low-lying hill. On the summit of this stands the "Nwa-ta-maw" pagoda. It was erected by Prince Maung Kan in the year 1357 A. D. Owing probably to the partial giving way of its foundation, the pagoda inclines somewhat towards the

* These manuscripts also mention the particular kind of guardian spirit or spirits who preside over the spot; so that it is not always easy to get possession of these treasures.

west. "Nwa-tamaw" could not have been its original designation, but must have been acquired at a later date on account of its fancied resemblance to a bull in the act of looking up. The treasure seekers dug to a depth of seven cubits below this structure, and came upon a stone box (dimensions were not ascertained). On breaking it open at the top, a live snake(?) is said to have issued forth and was promptly killed.* A careful examination showed four curious votive tablets similar in design and probably of lead. Each was propped up against a corner of the box. Except for these, the box was completely empty. Each tablet measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and 2 inches in its broadest part. It has two faces, one of which represents a pagoda with a kneeling figure of the earth-goddess at the base in the act of adoration. The other face illustrates a crowned Buddha in the usual *Bhūmispārça mudrā* and seated on a throne, 1 inch high. He is also accompanied by the kneeling figure of the earth-goddess, who is shown in the act of wringing her hair. On the whole, the design is curiously and cleverly executed and deserves the attention of antiquarians. I do not know if anything like it has yet been found in Burma Proper. (See Plate).

It is interesting to note that the story connected with this earth-goddess (Sthāvarā as mentioned in the *Lālita Vistāra*) is somewhat varied, and Grünwedel is undoubtedly correct in saying that its first pictorial representation in stone originated with the Gāndhāra School. The oldest account merely states that this goddess testified to Gautama's beneficence by a great rumbling noise and thus gave Him the right to sit on the diamond throne (under the Bo tree). A much later work, already quoted, states that half her body protruded from the earth showing off all the ornaments with which she was then adorned. In the Burmese account of this same character, however, we find an interesting addition to the original story. Here, she is represented as wringing from her hair the waters, which finally dispersed and swept away the countless hosts of Māra to their eternal destruction.

SHAN SHWE BU.

SOME HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

(Continued from Vol. VI, pt. III. p. 213.)

Record of the Tandawgyi Township 1164.

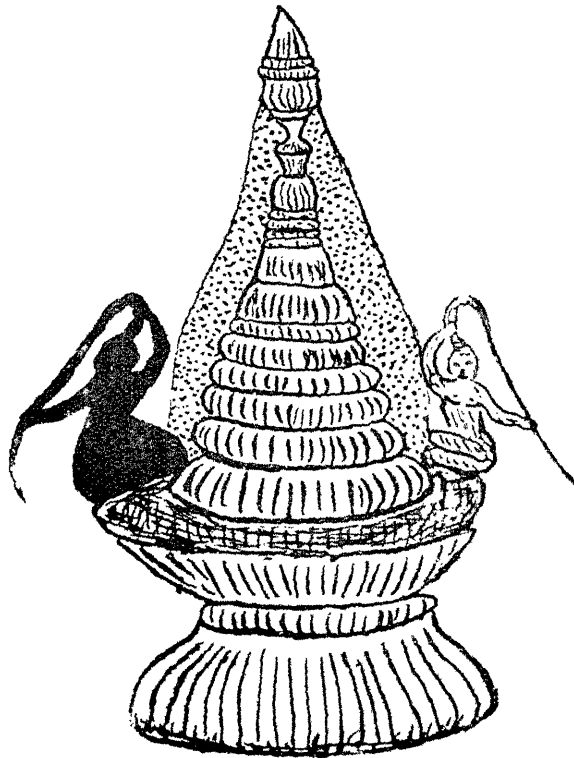
The deposition of Nga Tha Byu, birthday-6-, aged 46, Thugyi of Tandawgyi Township, one of the 32 Provinces of Hanthawaddy; taken on the 12th waxing of Tawthalin 1164 B. E.

My father and my father's father and his father looked after the Township. After the decease of my great-grand-father my grand-father and father, on account of my youth the people were scattered abroad among distant townships and villages. During the golden reign of His Majesty while the Taung Mingyi Maha-thiha-thara ruled over and built

* In this particular instance the guardians were supposed to be a snake and a ၂၃၈; a spirit whose power for evil is notorious.



OBVERSE.



REVERSE.

up the province of Hanthawaddy, from the year 55, I welcomed and gathered in (strangers) in order to build up towns and villages in the desert places of high jungle and tall grass.

These are the boundaries of Tandawgyi the district in my charge:

On the east De-in-gabut bordering on the Township of Meranyasa.

On the south-east, so far as Akayi stream, bordering on the Township of Hanthawaddy;

On the south, so far as Lakume-athan stream, bordering on the Township of Mintha Zainganaing;

On the south west it borders on the Paunglin Township;

On the west, the east side of the Paunglin stream bordering on the Paunglin Township;

On the north west, Dedagok bordering on the Tidut Township;

On the north the green hill of Sin-Chaung bordering on the Zaung-tu Township;

On the North East, so far as the Thieves Highroad of the Sitke stream, bordering on the Azeta Township.

Within these boundaries by four and eight there reside in the Township under my charge 215 households of poor people of the cultivating class, 122 revenue paying households of Karens, 56 revenue paying households of Zabeins, a total of 363 households; there are 124 households of their offspring 206 households of strangers, the total of the three bring 693. There are 621 adult males and 549 females 194 boys and 152 girls a total of 1516.

I have submitted a complete list, there is not one house or hut omitted.

The Record of Paunglin Township 1164.

The record of the examination of Nga Tha Ye, birthday-6-, aged 28, the Thugyi of Paunglin Township one of the 32 provinces of Hanthawaddy, taken on the ninth waxing of Tawthalin 1164.

Sir:

During the reign of the King who came to Hanthawaddy my great-grand-father Nga Kyaw Gaing was the governor in charge; after my great-grand-father Nga Kyaw Gaing was no more my grand-father Nga Kyaw Hla was governor in charge; after the death of my grand-father Nga Myat Le was the governor in charge; after Nga Myat Le was no more as I was the son who inherited his dignities I continue to govern and am in charge.

These are the boundaries of the Township.

On the east it borders on the Township of Hintha Zainganain so far as the Kyaik depyet pagoda;

On the South east Malit village on the east-bank of the Nga Mo Yeik stream bordering on the Ma-u Township;

On the south along the Nga Mo Yeik stream from Tantabin village to the mouth of Bala stream bordering on Dawbon;

On the south west it borders on Hmawbi so far as the Pagoda and Tank between the two islands on Thingan;

On the west it borders on Hmawbi so far as the Kyaikzwemayi Pagoda on the Tabin-daing ridge along the Alan-ok-thitsi high road and including Kyauktan;

On the northwest the Pannyo hill bordering on Hlaing Township;

On the north it borders on Hlaing Township so far as the high land forming the watershed of the Mahura stream;

On the north east it borders on the Tandawgyi Township so far as the Sinte ridge, the watershed of Kyauktayan.

Within these boundaries by four and eight these are Mahura Uyin village, Kya-in village, Akhabyin village, Wanetchaung village, Malit village, Moksonyaungbin village, and Sitpin village. In these villages there are 93 house-holds of the cultivating class; 24 households of rent paying Yuns; 102 of revenue paying Yabeins; the total of the three is 219; there are 349 households of their offspring; the total of the two is 768 (*sic*). There are 537 adult males and 528 adult females, 131 boys and 106 girls, the total of them all is 1302.

The revenue paying Karens and Sabeins nine tolas and two *mat* of revenue and supplementary revenue four tolas and two *mat*; the two together making fourteen tolas and two *mat* (*sic*) a head. They have to bring it in and pay it to the Akunwun and the revenue clerks.

The cultivators within the area have to measure out, bring in and pay 55 baskets of paddy to the Keepers of the Royal Granary for each yoke of buffalo. The fisheries lakes streams channels dykes and ditches are not worth taxing, no revenue has to be paid in on their account, the inhabitants can make their living from them.

Written by Nga Tha.

The Record of Zaungto Township 1164.

The deposition of Yannon Zeya, birthday-o-, aged 45, the thugyi of Zaungtu township one of the 32 Provinces of Hanthawaddy:—

In the year 739 at the time when the Thirty Two Provinces were constituted, the Minister Teikthamma, the General Thuyeinkyawthu, Thwethaukgyi Zeyananda, and the Bearer of the Insignia, Nga Kyaw U, were directed to collect 300 men and lay down the boundaries.

On the east so far as the Kyaik-shu-yue-tala pagoda; on the South east so far as the mouth of the Bawnatgyi stream.

On the south west (*sic*) along the irregular line of the north bank of the Htandawgyi stream opposite the lands of Htandawgyi so far as the watershed formed by the ridge of the Zayuepa hill,

On the south west bordering Tharrawaddy so far as the Zayuepa range,

On the north so far as the upper waters of the Petalaw Peya-yok stream,

On the north east so far as the cross ways of the Dawe stream,

During the reign of the father of the King who came to Hanthawaddy my great-grand-father, Nga Tha Aung was in charge of the area described in the old records as thus constituted and established. During the reign of the King (who came to) Hanthawaddy, on the succession of my grand-father, Nga Myat Htun, the own of Zaungtu was levelled and destroyed; it became a waste and unprofitable place of high jungle and tall grass where the elephant dwelt and the tiger held dominion.

Therefore in the year 55 the governor of Hanthawaddy gave my father Nga Myat Tun letters of appointment directing him to gather in people without regarding their tribe or service and to establish a town. My father, Nga Myat Tun, established the township and was in charge of it. I have succeeded to his duty and have charge over the Township and pay unfailing obedience to all orders and messengers from Government.

The Record of Tidut Township 1164.

The record of the examination of Yehla Aka birthday-3-, aged forty, the thugyi of Tidut Township one of the 32 Provinces of Hanthawaddy taken on the 13th waning of Tabaung in the year 1164.

In the year 1145, because there were no people in the Town of Tidut, Mahura village in the Township of Tidut had to submit the list. In the year 1164 on examining the Roll, because there are people in Mahura village of Tidut Township the list is submitted. These are the boundaries of Tidut Township: on the east it borders on Hintha-Zainganaing Township for about 5000 *ta* so far as the Kyaik-de-hlyin Pagoda and Mahura Stream. On the south east it borders on Hintha Zaingang Township, Akayein Township and Paunglin Township for about 160,000 *ta* so far as the Inswethu hill on the range below the mouth of the Mahura stream,

On the south it borders on Paunglin Township for a distance of about 7000 *ta* so far as the Uyin stream, the Dawpyat Pagoda and the Talok-lut Mango tree,

On the south west it borders on the Paunglin Township, the Hmawbi Township and the Tahapaung Township for about 8000 *ta* so far as the Yoma range,

On the west it borders on the Hlaing Township for about 5000 *ta* so far as the Kyaikyelaung Pagoda, east of the Yoma highroad,

On the north west it borders on Tharrawaddy for about 1000 *ta* so far as the Yoma Gwe-daw.

On the north it borders on Tharrawaddy for about 1000 *ta* so far as the Kyaiktagu Pagoda Yoma.

On the north east it borders on the Hintha-Zainganaing Township and Tandawgyi Township for about 1000 *ta* so far as the Mahura stream.

Within these boundaries by four and eight there is no pagoda nor monastery land. These are the cash revenues paid to the Court annually without fail by the Karens and Zayeins, living here. Each Karen has

to pay 9 tolas (of silver) as Main revenue, 9 *mu* as supplementary revenue, 4 *mu* 1 *be* freight, 1 *mu* 1 *be* carriage; for the Governor 9 *mu* for the writer 9 *mu*. The Zayein people have to pay 10 tolas (of silver) as main revenue, 1 tola as supplementary revenue, 5 *mu* for freight 5 *mu* for carriage; for the Governor 1 tola, for the writer 1 tola. The custom of payment is that when the officials of Hanthawaddy remind me I and the Head (*Sawke*) of the Karens and the Head (*Akyi*) of the Zayeins have to go up and account for the revenue and pay it in before the Akunwun and the Revenue Writer. Beside the revenue there is no village cess nor cess for soldiers and men of arms.

I also submit the complete Roll of the people in my charge.

The Record of Hmawbi Township 1164.

The record of the examination of Nga Kun, birthday-6-, aged 60, the Thugyi of Hmawbi Township taken on the 9th waning of Tawthalin, in the year 1164.

I am in charge, appointed by the royal seal. The boundaries of Hmawbi Township are as follows:—

On the east it borders on Paunglin for about 5 *daing* so far as the Zwemayi Pagoda;

On the south east it borders on Paunglin so far as the tank between the islands of Thitthingan;

On the south it borders on Mingaladon for about 6 *daing* so far as the Tagakyan stream;

On the south west it borders on Hlaing so far as the level fields of the Irrawaddy;

On the west it borders on Hlaing so far as the Myaungtin stream;

On the north it reaches to North Kanyinbin fishery on the Myaungtin stream;

On the north east it borders on Paunglin so far as Yoma.

Within these boundaries by four and eight of which I am in charge there are included in the list 61 households of Burman cultivators, 42 households of revenue paying Karens; of their descendants and relations there are 95 men and women, boys and girls; in all there are 376 people. I submit the Roll.

The Record of Mingaladon Township 1164.

The record of the examination of Nga Nyein, birthday-6-, aged 38, thugyi of Mingaladon Township one of the 32 Provinces of Hanthawaddy, taken on the ninth waxing of Tawthalin in the year 1164:—

In the years 1145 Nga E compiled and submitted the revenue roll. After Nga E was no more his son Nga Htun Aung succeeded. After Nga E and Nga Htun Aung were both dead I, the step father of Nga Htun Aung the younger brother of Nga E, succeeded by inheritance. As Nga E and Nga Htun Aung have neither son nor grand-son I govern

as hereditary thugyi with the seal and appointment order of Nga E and Nga Htun Aung.

These are the boundaries of the Township of Mingaladon: on the east it borders on Paunglin, for about 5 *taing* so far as the Kyaikmoyat Pagoda;

On the south it reaches from the land ruled over by Nga To, Ward Headman of the Myauk-pyin quarter of Rangoon, so far as the Marut stream;

On the west so far as the level paddy land of the Irrawaddy river,

On the north it borders on Hmawbi so far as the Kyaik-maw-nga pagoda. Within these four quarters there is no clan nor service-man, there are 42 households of cultivators and 103 revenue paying households, the total of both is 145 households; of their offspring there are 109 households in all 254, there are 306 men, 197 women 27 boys and 19 girls, the total of all four is only 449.

The Record of Mawlon Township 1164.

The record of the examination of Thuye Yut birthday-1-, aged 75, the thugyi appointed by royal seal to Mawlon Township, one of the 32 Provinces of Hanthawaddy, taken on the 9th waxing of Tawthalin in the year 1164.

These are the boundaries of my charge; on the east it borders on Zwebon Township for about 2 *daing* so far as the level fields of Paga river; on the south east it borders on Zwebon for about 3 *daing* so far as the level paddy fields of Taungdani stream and Paga river;

On the south for about 4 *daing* so far as the mouth of Lakun-byi stream;

On the west it borders Lakun-byi Township following the irregular line of Lakun-byi stream;

On the north west it borders on Lakunbyi Township for about 4 *daing* so far as Kadut stream;

On the north it borders on the land of Hinthia Zainganaing so far as the irregular line of Thaledaw stream;

On the north east it reaches to the level paddy fields of the river at the mouth of Thaledaw stream. Within boundaries by four and eight there are five villages in all; Thaledaw village, Tani village, Kawcho village, Nwachan village and Mobyokin village.

There are no service-men of any kind. I have written a complete roll, there are 95 households of cultivators and of their offspring 36, the two together 67, in all a total of 126 households and of their offspring 173, the sum of both being 299. There are 257 men and 243 women, 32 boys and 30 girls, of all four the total is only 562.

The Record of Hinthia-Zainganaing Township 1164.

The examination of Nga Shwe Ni, birthday-1-, aged 25, the thugyi of the Township of Hinthia-Zainganaing, one of the 32 Provinces of Hantha-

waddy, taken on the 13th waning of Tabaung in the year 1164;
States:—

When the Rolls were submitted in the year 1145 the Roll of the Township of Hinthazainganein was not included. There was no hereditary ruler. The governor of Hanthawaddy appointed my father Thiri Kyawthu to look after it and establish a city out of the high jungle and tall grass, and in the year 59 Thiri Kyaw Thu made it over to me to establish and look after.

These are the boundaries of Hinthazainganein: on the east borders on the lands of the Township of Hanthawaddy for about 4000 *ta* along the irregular line of the Pegu River,

On the south east it borders on Mawbyo Township for about 400 *ta* so far as the mouth of the Paing tala stream;

On the south it borders on Mawbyo Township for about 5000 *ta* so far as the Paing tala stream;

On the south west it borders on La kun bying Township for about 6000 *ta* so far as the Kyaik de-pya pagoda;

On the west it borders on the Tidut Township for about 3000 *ta* so far as the Mahura stream;

On the north west it borders on the Townships of Tidut and Htandawgyi for about 7000 *ta* so far as the Kongaung ridge,

On the north it borders on the Htandawgyi Township for about 8000 *ta* so far as Dagon bank and Athan stream;

On the north east it borders on the lands of the Htandawgyi Township for about 8000 *ta* so far as the Athan stream.

Within these boundaries by four and eight there are altogether 10 small villages in my charge, Uyingyitua, Tharata Yua, Maubin Yua, Akhun Yua, Mazinchaung Myaukbetyun, and Taungbet Yua, Okkho Yua, Kawbyin Yua, Kyaikdeyon Yua, Thebyuchaung Myauk-bet Yua. Out of these ten villages only Mazin Taung and Myauk, Okkho, Kawbyin, Kyaik deyon and Thebyuchaung Myauk-bet are inhabited. The remaining 4 villages are uninhabited.

Within these boundaries by four and eight there are five yoke of service land, each yoke is of 15 baskets sowing. When the Myowun, Yewun Akunwun, Akaukwun, Set ke, Nakhan Writers and Revenue Writers assess and collect the revenue cultivators have to pay it into the Royal Granary in Hanthawaddy Town at the rate of 50 baskets of paddy for each yoke; people who cultivate sugar or betel each pay 5 totals of silver, the people who work the Kyaik-ko-chaung always pay 5 tolas each. There are no landing stages, nor toll-booths nor brokerage fees, watch posts nor ferries. As the town and township are newly established no fees nor presents are made on the accession of a prince nor at the New Year nor at the beginning or end of Lent.

I beg to report to His Royal Majesty that I have written and submitted a complete tabulated roll of all householders and inhabitants, Burmans, Talaings, Kalas and Karens with their ages and birthdays.

The Record of Meranyinsaya Township 1164.

The examination of Nga Chan, aged 35, birthday-2-, the thugyi of the Township of Meranyinsaya, taken on the 5th waxing of Wagaung in the year 1164.

States:—

The Township of Meranyinsaya is one of the 32 provinces of Hanthawaddy. In the year 1145 it was not included in the Roll as it had for many years been high jungle and tall grass. Because it was lying waste with no one to look after it, the Akunwun and the Revenue Writer gave it to me to establish, foster and to look after the Karens and Zayeins and pay in the revenue. I have established it and am now in charge. These are the boundaries of Meranyinsaya Township;

On the east it borders on Ban Township for about 1000 *ta* so far as the Sittang river and the Kyaikdesan pagoda;

On the south east it borders on the Sittang and Hanthawaddy Townships for about 1000 *ta* so far as the Sittang river;

On the south it borders on Awaing village and Hanthawaddy Township for about 5000 *ta* so far as Monet and Kyaik desan pagoda;

On the south west it borders on the land of Htandawgyi Township for about 100 *ta* so far as the Naung-in pagoda;

On the west it borders on Htandawgyi Township for about 1000 *ta* so far as Zayue-in Kabut;

On the north west borders on Baing Ta Township for about 1000 *ta*;

On the north it borders on Baing Ta Township for about 1000 *ta* so far as Kyaik dat Lakunmanaw.

On the north east it borders on Ban Township for about 1000 *ta* so far as the Shwegyin river.

Within these boundaries by four and eight there are no pagoda nor monastery glebe lands, no stone inscriptions nor *lamaings* (sic? *th-maing*) are to be found. The following fisheries always pay revenue Moyun-gyi fishery, Moyun-nge fishery, Kadok-chaung, Zwegago fishery and Apati fishery, each workman in these fisheries always pays five *tolas* a head.

The cultivators on receiving orders from the Myo-wun, Yewun, Akunwun, Akaukwun, Sitke, Nakhan and Writers for each pair of buffaloes pay fifty baskets of paddy into the royal granary in the town of Hanthawaddy.

The Record of Akhayein Township 1164.

The deposition of Nga Tawkalo, birthday-5-, aged 85, thugyi of Akayein Township, one of the 32 provinces of Hanthawaddy, taken on the 11th waxing of Tawthalin in the year 1164.

My great-grand-father Nga Tawkalo gyi was in charge of the Township of Akhayein, after my great-grand-father was no more my grand-father Nebaal-bathon was in charge, after my grand-father was no more

my father Nga Aung Kyaw was in charge, after my father was no more I succeeded to the charge.

These are the boundaries of Akhayein Township:

On the east it reaches to the Myekhun pagoda and the Lakunpyin stream;

On the south it borders on Mau Township;

On the west it reaches to the Paunglin stream;

On the north it borders at Mahura which is under the Myedaing Yehla A-ka. All that is within these boundaries I look after unremittingly. There are 10 households of cultivators 3 boys and 3 girls, totaling 125 individuals. I submit a roll of the people to His Royal Majesty.

J. S. F.

ထန်းတောကြီးမြို့ ၆၄ ခုစစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ တော်သလင်းလဆန်း ၁၂ ရက်နေ့။ ဟံသာဝတီ ၃၂ မြို့အဝင်။ ထန်းတောကြီး မြို့သူကြီး သောမြို့။ နံ ၆။ အသက် ၄၆ ရှိသူအစစ်တော်ခံချက်။ ဘုရားကျွန်တော် ဘေး ဘိုး ဘ တို့ဆက်ခံ ပြုစုသည်။ ဘေးဘိုးဘတို့ မရှိသည်နောက် ကျွန်တော်ငယ်ရွယ်သည်နှင့်။ အဝေးမြို့ ကျေးရွာများသို့ လွှင့်ပေး ရှိနေသည်ဖြစ်၍။ ဘုရားရွှေလက်ထက်တော် ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ကို တောင်မင်းကြီး မင်းမဟာသီဟသူရပြုစု အုပ်ချုပ်သည်တည်း။ ၅၅ ခုနှစ် တောကြီးမျက်ရှည် ရှိသည်များကို။ မြို့ရွာဖြစ်ထွန်းအောင် ဆက်ခံသိမ်းသွင်း ပြုစု ပါသည်။ ကျွန်တော်စီရင်စု ထန်းတောကြီးနယ်မြေသည်။ အရှေ့ကိုလားသော် အေးအင်းကပ္ပဝ်မေရဋ္ဌယမြို့ နယ်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အရှေ့တောင်ကိုလားသော် အကရိချောင်းထိ။ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ နယ်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ တောင် ကိုလားသော် လကူမဲအသံချောင်းထိ။ ဟံသာဝတီကန်မြို့ နယ်မြေနှင့် အစပ်။ အနောက်တောင်ကို လား သော် ဘောင်းလင်းနယ်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်ကိုလားသော် ဘောင်းလင်းချောင်းအရှေ့ဘက် ဘောင်း လင်းမြို့ နယ်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်မြောက်ကိုလားသော် ဒေတရပ်တီတို့မြို့ နယ်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ မြောက် ကိုလားသော် ဆင်ချောင်းစိန်တောင်ထိ။ ဇောင်းတူမြို့နယ်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အရှေ့မြောက်ကိုလားသော် စစ်ကဲ ချောင်းခိုလမ်းမထိ။ အဇေဠမြို့နယ်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ နယ် ၄ ရပ် ၈ ရပ်သတ်မှတ်သည့်စီရင်စုမြို့နယ်အတွင်း ရှိနေ သည့် ဆင်းရဲသားအသည်အိမ် ၂၁၅။ အခွန်တော်ထမ်း ကရင်အိမ် ၁၂၂။ အခွန်တော်ထမ်း ဇယိန် ၅၆။ ၃၈ အိမ်ပေါင်း ၃၆၂။ သားသမက်ပွားတိုးအိမ်ထောင်စု ၁၂၄။ ခွဲတိုး ၂၀၆။ ၃၈ ၆၉၃။ ကျားကြီး ၆၂၁။ မကြီး ၅၄၉။ ကျားငယ် ၁၉၄။ မငယ် ၁၅၂။ ၄ စဉ်းရေပေါင်း ၁၅၁၆ ရှိပါသည်။ ကျွန်တော် အစစ်ခံ စာရင်းတော် တင်ဆက်သည်အတိုင်း တအိမ်တစု မကြွင်းမကျန်ကုန်စင်ပါသည်။ ။

ဘောင်းလင်းမြို့ ၆၄ခု စစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ တော်သလင်းလဆန်း ၉ ရက်နေ့။ ဟံသာဝတီ ၃၂ မြို့အဝင်။ ဘောင်းလင်းမြို့ သူကြီးသောရေ။ နံ ၆။ အသက် ၂၈ သူကိုမေးသော်။ ချက်။ ဘုရားဟံသာဝတီပါမင်းလက်ထက်။ ကျွန်တော် ဘေးကျော်ခိုင် ကြီးစိုးစီရင်ပါသည်။ ဘေးကျော်ခိုင် မရှိသည်နောက်။ ကျွန်တော်ဘိုး ကျော်လှ ကြီးစိုး စီရင်ရပါသည်။ ဘိုးမရှိနောက် ဘဇမြတ်လေး ကြီးစိုးစီရင်ပါသည်။ ဘဇမြတ်လေး မရှိသည်နောက်။ ကျွန် တော်အရာခံသားဖြစ်၍ ဆက်ခံကြီးစိုး စီရင်ပါသည်။ မြို့နယ်ကာ။ အရှေ့ကိုလားသော် ကျိုက်အေပြတ် ဘု ရားထိ။ ဟံသာဝတီကန်မြို့ မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အရှေ့တောင်ကိုလားသော် မလစ်ရွာငမိုးရိတ်ချောင်းအရှေ့ဘက် မအူမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ တောင်ကိုလားသော် ထန်းတပင်ရွာ ဘာလာချောင်းဝ ငမိုးရိတ်ချောင်းတဘက် ဒေါပုံ မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်တောင်ကိုလားသော် သင်ကန်းကျွန်း ၂ ကျွန်းအကြား ဘုရားနှင့်ရေကန်ထိ မော် ဘီမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်ကိုလားသော် အလန်အုပ်သစ်စည်လမ်းမ ကျောက်ထန်ပါ တပင်တိုင်တောင်

ရိုးကျိုက် ဇွဲမရှိတုရားထိ မော်ဘီမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်မြောက်ကိုလားသော် ပန်းညှိတောင်လှိုင်မြို့ မြေ နှင့်အစပ်။ မြောက်ကိုလားသော် မဟူရာချောင်းဖျား ရေဝေကုန်းတန်းထိ လှိုင်မြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အရှေ့ မြောက်ကိုလားသော် ကျောက်တရန် ရေဝေဆင်တေတောင်ရိုးထိ ထန်းတောကြီးမြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ နယ် ၄ ရပ် ၈ ရပ် သတ်မှတ်သည်အတွင်း။ မဟူရာဦးယဉ်ရွာ။ ကြာအင်းရွာ။ အခပြင်ရွာ။ ဝါးနက်ချောင်းရွာ။ မလစ် ရွာ။ မုဆိုးညောင်ပင်ရွာ။ စစ်ပင်ရွာ။ ၎င်းရွာတို့တွင် ရှိနေသည့် အသည်အိမ် ၉၃ စု၊ ခြားယွန်း ၂၄။ ငွေခွန် ထမ်း ကဇဝိန် ၁၀၂။ စုစုအိမ် ၂၁၉။ သားသီးတိုးပွားအိမ် ၃၄၉။ ၂ စု ၇၆၈။ ကျားကြီး ၅၃၇။ မကြီး ၅၂၈။ ကျားငယ် ၁၃၁။ မငယ် ၁၀၆။ ၄ စုဦးရေ ၁၃၀၂ ရှိပါသည်။ အခွန်တော်ထမ်း ကရင်ဇဝိန်တို့မှာ။ တအိမ် လျှင်အခွန်မ ၉၂ ဝိဇာ ၄၂။ ၂ စု ၁၄၂ စီကျခံ၍ အခွန်ဝန် အခွန်စာရေးတို့ထံ ပေးချိန် ဆောင်ရွက်ရပါ သည်။ နယ်တွင်းလယ်လုပ်သူတို့မှာ။ ကျွဲတရင်းလျှင် စပါး ၅၅ ကျီတော်သို့ ကျီစိုင်းတို့ထံ ချင့်တွက်ပေးသွင်း ရပါသည်။ အစွတ်အခြောက် အင်းအိုင် ချောင်းမြောင်း များမှာ။ ဘိုးတော်ခွန် မဖြစ်လောက်၍ မဆက် မ သွင်းရပါ။ နယ်တွင်းရှိ လူတို့သာ ရှာဖွေစားသောက်ရပါသည် ငသာရေးသည်။ ။

ဇောင်တူမြို့ ၆၄၃ စစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ ဝါခေါင်လပြည့်ကျော် ၁၀ ရက်နေ့။ ဟံသာဝတီ ၃၂ မြို့အဝင်။ ဇောင်တူမြို့ သူ ကြီး ရန်နင်ဇေယ။ နံ ၀။ အသက် ၄၅ နှစ်အရွယ်ရှိသူ။ ချက်။ ဇောင်တူမြို့သည် ၇၃၉ ခုနှစ်။ သုံးဆယ်နှစ်မြို့ ခွဲဘက်သည်ကာလ။ အမတ်တိဿကုမ္မာ။ တပ်မှူးသူရိန်ကျော်သူ ငသွေခံကြီးဇေယနန္ဒ။ အဆောင်ကျော် ဦးတို့ကို။ နယ်ပယ်သတ်မှတ်၍။ လူ ၃၀၀ ပြုစုစေသည်။ အရှေ့ကိုလားသော် ကြိုက်ရှုစွဲတလဘုရားထိ။ အရှေ့ တောင်ကိုလားသော် ဘောနတ်ကြီးချောင်းဝထိ။ အနောက်တောင်ကို လားသော်။ ထန်းတောကြီးချောင်း မြောက်ဘက် ကောက်ကောက်စင်းစင်း။ ဇရွှေပေါတောင် ခင်ရိုးတန်းရေဝထိ။ တဘက်ထန်းတောကြီးမြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်။ အနောက်တောင်ကိုလားသော်။ ဇရွှေပေါတောင်ရိုးထိ။ တဘက် သာယာဝတီ။ မြောက်ကိုလား သော်။ ပေတလောဘုရားရုပ် ချောင်းဖျားထိ။ အရှေ့မြောက်ကိုလားသော်။ ထားဝယ်ချောင်းခြား ကြက်ကြီး ထိ။ ခွဲဘက်သိမ်းသွင်း ပြုစုကြောင်းကို သမိုင်းစာဟောင်းထွက် ရှိသည် အတိုင်း။ ဟံသာဝတီရောက် ခ မည်းတော်လက်ထက်။ ကျွန်တော်ဘေး ငသာကောင်း တိုင်ဆော် ကြီးစိုးပါသည်။ ဟံသာဝတီ ရောက်မင်း လက်ထက် ကျွန်တော်ဘိုး ငမြတ်ထွန်း ဆက်ခံကြီးစိုးသည်နှင့်။ ဖျက်ပြားပြတ်၍။ ဇောင်တူမြို့သည်။ တော ကြီးမျက်ရှည်။ ဆင်နေကျားအောင်း။ စီးပွားတော်မဖြစ်။ လစ်လပ်နေသောကြောင့်။ ၅၅ ခုနှစ်။ ဟံသာဝတီ ဝန်က ကျွန်တော်ဘ ငမြတ်တင်ကို စာချွန်ပေးအပ်၍။ မည်သည့်အစု အမှုထမ်းမဆို သိမ်းသွင်းပြုစုရမည် ခန့် ထားလျှင်။ ကျွန်တော်ဘကြီး ငမြတ်တင် ပြုစုစီရင်သည်။ အစဉ်မပြတ် ရုံးစာချွန်နှင့် အမှုထမ်းတော် ပေါက် ရောက်သည်များကို။ ဆောင်ရွက်ဆက်ခံ၍ ကျွန်တော်စီရင်ရသည်။ စာရင်း။ ။

တိတ္တဘိမြို့ ၆၄ ခုစစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ တပေါင်းလပြည့်ကျော် ၁၃ ရက်နေ့။ ဟံသာဝတီ ၃၂ မြို့အဝင်။ တိတ္တဘိမြို့ သူကြီး ရဲလှအာကာ။ နံ။ ၃။ အသက် ၄၀ သူအစစ်တော်ခံချက်။ ၄၅ ခု တိတ္တဘိမြို့တွင်လူမရှိသောကြောင့်။ တိတ္တဘိမြို့နယ်တွင် မဟူရာရွာ စာရင်းတော်ဆက်ရသည်။ ၆၄ ခုစာရင်းတော်စစ်သိမ်းသည်တွင်။ တိတ္တဘိ မြို့ မဟူရာရွာတွင် လူရှိသောကြောင့် စာရင်းတော်ကို ဆက်သွင်းသည်။ တိတ္တဘိမြို့ နယ်မြေအရှေ့ အလား တာ ၅၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ ကျိုက်ဒေလျှင်ဘုရား မဟူရာချောင်းထိ တဘက် ဟံသာဇိင်ဂနိမ်မြို့ မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ အရှေ့တောင် အလားတာ ၆၀၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ မဟူရာချောင်းဝအောက် တောင်ရိုးကုန်းအင်းစွာသူတောင်း ထိ။ ဟံသာဇိင်ဂနိမ်မြို့အခရိန်မြို့ဘောင်းလင်းမြို့ မြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်။ တောင်အလားတာ ၇၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ ဥယျဉ်ချောင်းဝ ကျိုက်ဒေါပြတ်ဘုရား တရပ်လွတ် သရက်ပင်ထိ။ တဘက်ဘောင်းလင်းမြို့မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ အနောက်တောင်အလားတာ ၈၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ ရိုးမကုန်ဆင်ထိ။ တဘက် ဘောင်းလင်းမြို့ မော်ဘီမြို့။ တ ကာပေါင်မြို့မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ အနောက်အလားတာ ၅၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ ရိုးမလမ်းအရွှေဘက် ကျိုက်ရဲလောင်း

ဘုရားထံ လှိုင်းမြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်း။ အနောက်မြောက်အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ ရိုးမတွေ့တော့။ တဘက်သာယာဝတီမြို့ မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ မြောက်အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ ကျိုက်တကူဘုရား ရိုးမထိ တဘက် သာယာဝတီမြို့ မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အရှေ့မြောက်အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ မဟာရာချောင်းဖျား တဘက် ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ ထန်းတောကြီးမြို့ မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ နယ် ၄ ရပ် ၈ ရပ်အတွင်း။ ဘုရားကျောင်းမြေ မရှိပါ။ ကရင်ဇာယိန်ရှိနေသူတို့က နှစ်စဉ်မပြတ်။ နန်းရိုးငွေခွန်တော်ကို ကရင်ထမ်းလူတကိုယ်လျှင် ခွန်မ ၉။ ပို ၉။ ကံ ၄။ ၁။ ဆောင် ၁။ ၁။ ဝန်စား ၉။ ရေးစား ၉။ ဇရိပ်လူမျိုးတို့မှာ။ ထမ်းလူတကိုယ်လျှင် ခွန်မ ၁၀။ ပို ၁၀။ ကံ ၅။ ဆောင် ၅။ ဝန်စား ၁၀။ ရေးစား ၁၀။ ဆက်မြဲရှိသည့်အတိုင်း။ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့အရပ်ရှိတိုက်နန်းဆော်လျှင်။ ကျွန်တော်က ကရင်စော်ကံ ဇာယိန်အကြီးတို့နှင့်။ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ ရုံးမှာ။ အခွန်ဝန် အခွန်စာရေးတို့ရှေ့ချိန်ပေးရပါသည်။ အခွန်တော်ပြင်။ စစ်လက်နက်ကိုင်တိုင် ကြေးတိုင်ငွေ ပေးချိန်ရရှိမရှိပါ။ နယ်တွင် နေလူတို့ကိုလည်း စာရင်းကုန်စင်အောင် တင်ဆက်ပါသည်ဘုရား။ ။

မော်ပီမြို့ ၆၄၃ စစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု၊ တော်သလင်းလဆန်း ၉ ရက်နေ့။ မော်ပီမြို့သူကြီး ငကွန်။ နံ။ ၆။ အသက် ၆၀ ရှိသူအစစ်ခံချက်။ ကျွန်တော်တံဆိပ်တော်နှင့် ကြီးစိုးစီရင်ရသည်။ မော်ပီမြို့နယ်သည်။ အရှေ့ကိုလားသော်။ ၅ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ ဇွဲ မရှိဘုရားထိ။ ဘောင်းလင်းမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အရှေ့တောင်ကို လားသော် သစ်သစ်နန်းကျွန်းကြား ရေကန်ထိ။ ဘောင်းလင်းမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ တောင်ကိုလားသော်။ ၆ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ တကူကျန်ချောင်း မင်္ဂလာတုံမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်တောင်ကိုလားသော်။ ရောဝတီလယ်ကြောထိလျှင်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်ကိုလားသော်။ မြောင်ထင်ချောင်းထိ။ လှိုင်မြေနှင့် အစပ်။ မြောက်ကိုလားသော်။ ကညင်ပင် အင်းမြောက်မြောင်တင်ချောင်းထိ။ အရှေ့မြောက်ကိုလားသော်။ ရိုးမ။ ရှားစည်ကို တီလိုင်း။ ဘောင်းလင်းမြေနှင့် အစပ်။ ကျွန်တော်ကြီးစိုးစီရင်ရသည်။ နယ် ၄ ရပ် ၈ ရပ်သတ်မှတ်သည်အတွင်း။ စာရင်းတော်ကျ။ မြန်မာအသည်။ အိမ်ခြေ ၆၁။ အခွန်တော်ထမ်း ကရင်အိမ်ခြေ ၄၂။ သားသွီး ဆွေသား မျိုးသား အတိုးအပွား ၉၅။ ကျားကြီး။ မကြီး။ ကျားငယ်။ မငယ်။ ဦးရေ ၃၇၆ ရှိပါသည်ကိုစာရင်းတော်တင်ဆက်ပါသည်ဘုရား။ ။

မင်္ဂလာတုံမြို့ ၆၄၃ စစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု၊ တော်သလင်းလဆန်း ၉ ရက်နေ့တွင်။ ဟံသာဝတီ ၃၂ မြို့အဝင်။ မင်္ဂလာတုံမြို့သူကြီး။ နံ ဖိ။ အသက် ၃၈ ရှိသူငြိမ်းကိုမေးသော်။ ချက်။ မင်္ဂလာတုံမြို့ကို။ အရိုးငအေး ၄၅ ခုနှစ်။ ရွှေတိုက်စာရင်းတော်ကြီးစိုးဆက်သွင်းပါသည်။ ငအေးမရှိလျှင်။ သားငထွန်းအောင် ဆက်ခံကြီးစိုးပါသည်။ ငအေးငထွန်းအောင် သေဆုံးသည်နောက်။ ကျွန်တော်ငအေးညီထွန်းအောင်။ ဘငထွေး ငြိမ်း။ ရိုးဆက် ရာခံဖြစ်၍။ ငအေး ငထွန်းအောင်တို့တွင် သားမြေးအဆက်အခံ မရှိလျှင်။ သူကြီးရိုးရာကိုဆက်ခံ၍။ ငအေး ငထွန်းအောင်တို့ထံ။ တံဆိပ်စာချွန်တော်နှင့်။ ကြီးစိုးစီရင် ဆောင်ရွက်ပါသည်။ မင်္ဂလာတုံမြို့နယ်သည်။ အရှေ့ကိုလားသော် ၅ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ ကျိုက်မိုးရပ်ဘုရားထိ။ ဘောင်းလင်းမြေနှင့် အစပ်။ တောင်ကို လားသော်။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့ မြောက်ပြင်ရပ်ခေါင်း။ ငတိုးစီရင်သည်မြေနယ်။ ကမာရွတ်ချောင်းထိ။ အနောက်ကို လားသော် ရောဝတီ မြစ်လယ်ကြောထိ။ မြောက်ကိုလားသော်။ ကျိုက်မော်ငါးဘုရားထိ။ မော်ပီမြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ နယ် ၄ ရပ်သတ်မှတ်သည် အတွင်း။ မည်သည့် အစု အမှတ်ထမ်းမဆို အသည် အိမ်ခြေ ၄၂။ အခွန်တော်ထမ်း အိမ်ခြေ ၁၀၃။ ၂ စုအိမ်ခြေ ၁၄၅။ သားသွီးတိုးပွားအိမ် ၁၀၉။ ၂ စု ၂၅၄။ ကျားကြီး ၂၀၆။ ကျားမ ၁၉၇။ ကျားငယ် ၂၇။ မငယ် ၁၉။ ၄ စုဦးရေပေါင်း ၄၄၉ သာရှိပါသည်။ ။

မော်လုံမြို့ ၆၄၃ စစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ တော်သလင်းလဆန်း ၉ ရက်နေ့တွင်။ ဟံသာဝတီ ၃၂ မြို့အဝင်။ မော်လုံမြို့တံဆိပ်တော်ရ သူကြီးသူရဲရွတ် ငအသည်။ နံ ၁။ အသက် ၇၅ ရှိသူ စစ်မေးသော်။ ချက်။ ကျွန်တော်ကြီးစိုးစီ

ရင်သည်။ မော်လုံမြို့နယ်သည်။ အရှေ့ကိုလားသော် ၂ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ ပကိုးချောင်း မြစ်လယ် ကြော။ ဇွဲ ဘုံမြို့ မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ အရှေ့တောင်ကိုလားသော်။ ၃ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ တောင်တနီချောင်း၊ ပကိုးမြစ်လယ်ကြော ဇွဲ ဘုံမြို့မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ တောင်ကိုလားသော် ၄ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ လကွန်းပျဉ်းချောင်းဝယ်။ အနောက်တောင် ကိုလားသော် ၂ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ လကွန်းပျဉ်းချောင်းဝယ်။ အနောက်ကိုလားသော် လကွန်းပျဉ်းချောင်းကောက် ကောက် စင်းစင်း လကွန်းပျဉ်းမြို့ မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ အနောက်မြောက်ကိုလားသော် ၄ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ က တွက်ချောင်းဝယ်။ လကွန်းပျဉ်း ချောင်းမြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်။ မြောက်ကို လား သော်။ သလံတော ချောင်း ကောက်ကောက်စင်းစင်း ချောင်းဖျားဝယ်။ ဟံသာဇင်ဂနိမ်မြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်။ အရှေ့မြောက်ကို လားသော် သလံတောချောင်းဝ ပကိုးမြစ်လယ်ကြောဝယ်။ နယ် ၄ ရပ် ၈ ရပ် သတ်မှတ်သည့် အတွင်း။ သလံတောရွာ တော်။ တနီရွာ။ ကောချဲ့ရွာ။ နွားချပ်ရွာ။ မိုပြီကင်ရွာ။ ရွာပေါင်း ၅။ စီရင်စုနယ်အတွင်း မည်သည့် အစိုးရ အမှုထမ်းမဆို။ ဝေငှကုန်စင်ရေမှတ်၍။ အသည်အိမ်ခြေ ၉၅။ သားသွီးတိုးပွား ၁၃၇။ ၂ ၅၂၃။ ငွေခွန်ထမ်း ကရင်အိမ် ၃၁။ သားသွီးတိုးပွား ၃၆။ ၂ ၅ ၆၇။ စုစုအိမ်ခြေ ၁၂၆။ သားသွီးတိုးပွား ၁၇၃။ ၂ ၅ ၂၉၉။ ကျား ကြီး ၂၅၇။ မကြီး ၂၄၃။ ကျားငယ် ၃၂။ မငယ် ၃၀။ ၄ စဉ်းရေပေါင်း ၅၆၂။ သာရပါသည်။ ။

ဟံသာဇင်ကနိမ်မြို့ ငေ့ချစ်စစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ တပေါင်းလပြည့်ကျော် ၁၃ ရက်နေ့။ ဟံသာဝတီ ၃၂ အဝင်။ ဟံသာဇင်က နိမ်မြို့သူကြီး ငရွှေဘီ။ နံ ၁။ အသက် ၂၅ သူကို မေးသော် ထွက်ဆိုသည်။ ၄၅ ခုစာရင်းတော်ပေးဆက်ရာ။ ဟံသာဇင်ကနိမ်မြို့ စာရင်းတော် မပါ။ ရိုးရာဘက် ခံမည်သူမရှိ။ တောကြီးမျက်ရှည် ရှိသည်ကို ၅၉ ခုနှစ် ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ဝန်က။ ကျွန်တော်ဘသီရိကျော်သူကို ကြီးစိုး ပြုစုရမည် ခန့်အပ်လျှင်။ အဘ သီရိကျော်သူက ကျွန်တော်ကို ကြီးစိုးပြုစုရမည် လွှဲအပ်သည်။ ဟံသာဇင်ကနိမ်နယ်မြေသည် အရှေ့အလားတာ ၄၀၀၀ ခန့် ကွာ။ ပကိုးမြစ် ကောက်ကောက်စင်းစင်း တဘက်ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ နယ်မြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်။ အရှေ့တောင် အ လားတာ ၄၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ ပိုင်တလားချောင်းဝယ်။ တဘက် မော်ပြီမြို့ မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ တောင် အလား တာ ၅၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ ပိုင်တလားချောင်းဝယ်။ တဘက်မော်ပြီမြို့မြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်။ အနောက်တောင်အလား တာ ၆၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ ကျိုက်ဒေပြဘုရားဝယ်။ တဘက်လကွန်းပျဉ်းမြို့ မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ အနောက် အလား တာ ၈၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ မဟူရာချောင်းဝယ်။ တဘက် တိတုတ်မြို့မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ အနောက်မြောက် အလား တာ ၇၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ ကုန်ခေါင်တောင်ရိုးဝယ်။ တဘက် တိတုတ်မြို့ ထန်းတောကြီးမြို့ မြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်။ မြောက်အလားတာ ၈၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ မကုန်ပေါက်အသံချောင်းဝယ်။ တဘက်ထန်းတောကြီးမြို့ မြေနှင့်ကြော ခိုင်။ အရှေ့မြောက်အလားတာ ၈၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ အသံချောင်းဝယ်။ တဘက်ထန်းတောကြီးမြို့ မြေနှင့်ကြော ခိုင်။ နယ် ၄ ရပ် ၈ ရပ်အတွင်း။ စီရင်စုရွာငယ် ဦးယာဉ်ကြီးရွာ။ သာရတရွာ။ မအူပင်ရွာ။ အခွန်ရွာ။ မဇင်း ချောင်းမြောက်ဘက်ရွာ။ ၎င်း တောင်ဘက်ရွာ။ အုပ်ဘိုရွာ။ ကောပျဉ်ရွာ။ ကျိုက်ဒေရုံရွာ။ သဲဖြူချောင်း မြောက်ဘက်ရွာ။ ရွာပေါင်း ၁၀ အနက်။ မဇင်တောင်ရွာ။ မြောက်ရွာ။ အုပ်ဘိုရွာ။ ကောပျဉ်ရွာ။ ကျိုက် ဒေရုံရွာ။ သဲဖြူချောင်း မြောက်ဘက်ရွာ။ ၎င်းရွာသာ လူရှိပါသည်။ ကျန်လေးရွာမှာ လူမရှိပါ။ နယ် ၄ ရပ် ၈ ရပ်အတွင်း လုပ်ဆောင်သည့် ကျွဲရှဉ်း ၅။ တရှဉ်းလျှင် မျိုး ၁၅ ကျလုပ်ဆောင်ပါသည်။ မြို့ဝန်။ ရေဝန်။ အခွန်ဝန်။ အကောက်ဝန်။ စစ်ကဲ နာခမ်။ စာရေးကြီး။ အခွန်စာရေးတို့က။ အခွန်ရေစစ်သိမ်းခံလျှင်။ ကွဲတ ရှဉ်းလျှင် အခွန်စပါး ၅၀ ကျ။ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ ကျီတော်မှာ ဆက်သွင်းပါသည်။ ကျန်ကွမ်းပင်လုပ်သူတို့ မှာ။ တကိုယ်အခွန်ငွေ ၅။ ကျိုက်ကိုချောင်းလုပ် လူတကိုယ်ငွေ ၅။ ဆက်သွင်းရခြ် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ ၎င်းဆိပ် တည်ပွဲ ကင်းကုတိုမရှိပါ။ ခြီးခင်းတော်ဘွင့် နှစ်သစ် ဝါဝင် ဝါကျွတ် ကတော့လက်ဆောင်တော်များမှာ။ ပြု စုစု မြို့ကျေးရွာဖြစ်၍ မဆက်မသရပါ။ နယ် ၄ ရပ် ၈ ရပ်အတွင်း။ အိမ်ခြေတိုင်စိုက် နေထိုင်သည်။ မြန်မာ။ တလိုင်း။ ကုလား။ ကရင်။ အသက်။ နေ့နံ။ အင်းစာရင်းကျယ် ကုန်စင်အောင် ရေးဆက်သွင်းပါကြောင်းကို ရွှေဘဝါးတော်မြတ်အောက် ရှိခိုးအစီရင်တော်ခံပါသည်ဘုရား။ ။

မေရညွယမြို့ ၆၄၃ စစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ ဝါခေါင်လဆန်း ၅ ရက်နေ့။ မေရညွယမြို့သူကြီး ချမ်း။ နံ ၂။ အသက် ၃၅ နှစ်ရှိသူကိုမေးသော်။ ထွက်ဆိုသည်။ ဟံသာဝတီ ၂၂ မြို့အဝင်။ မေရညွယမြို့သည်။ ကာလအရှည် တောကြီး မျက်ရှည်ရှိ၍။ ၄၅ ခုစစ်တမ်း ဆက်သွင်းရာမပါ။ ပျက်စီး၍ ထိမ်းသိမ်း အုပ်ချုပ်သူမရှိသောကြောင့် အခွန် ဝန် အခွန်စာရေးတို့က အခွန်တော်ဆက်။ ကရင်ဇယ်နီတို့ကို အုပ်ထိမ်း၍။ စည်ပင်ဖြစ်ပွားအောင်ပြုစုရမည် အပ်၍။ ကျွန်တော်ပြုစုကြိုးစားသည်။ မေရညွယမြို့ နယ်မြေသည်။ အရှေ့အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀ ကွာ။ ကျိုက်ဒေ စည်ဘုရား။ စစ်တောင်းမြစ်ထိ။ တဘက်ဘန်မြို့မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အရှေ့တောင်အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ စစ်တောင်းမြစ်ထိ။ တဘက်စစ်တောင်းမြို့မြေ ပံသာဝတီမြို့မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ တောင်အလားတာ ၅၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ ကျိုက်ဒေစံဘုရားမိုးနက်ထိ။ တဘက် ဟံသာဝတီမြို့မြေ။ အပိုင်ရွာမြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်း။ အနောက် တောင်အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ နောင်အင်းဘုရားထိ။ တဘက်ထန်းတောကြီးမြို့မြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်း။ အ နောက်အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ ဇွဲအင်းကပွတ်ထိ။ တဘက် ထန်းတောကြီးမြို့မြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်း။ အ နောက်မြောက်အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ မိုင်းတာမြို့မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ မြောက်အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀ ခန့် ကွာ။ ကျိုက်ဒေလကွန်းမနောထိ။ တဘက်မိုင်းတာမြို့မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အရှေ့မြောက်အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ ရွှေကျင်မြစ်ထိ။ တဘက်ဘန်မြို့မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ နယ် ၄ ရပ် ၈ ရပ်သတ်မှတ်သည်အတွင်း။ ဘုရား ကျောင်းဝတ်မြေ။ ကျောက်စာလမိုင်း မတွေ့မရှိပေ။ ၎င်းမြို့နယ်အတွင်း။ အခွန်ဆက်မြို့ မိုးယွန်းကြီးအင်း။ မိုး ယွန်းငယ်အင်း။ ကတုတ်ချောင်းအင်း။ ဇွဲကတုတ်အင်း။ အဘထိအင်းရှိပါသည်။ ၎င်းအင်းများမှာ။ လုပ်လူ တကိုယ်လျှင်အခွန်ငွေ ၅ ဆက်သွင်းခြင်းဖြစ်ပါသည်။ လယ်လုပ်သားတို့မှာ။ ကျွဲတရည်းလျှင်စပါး ၅၀^၆ ကျဟံ တကိုယ်လျှင်အခွန် ၅ ဆက်သွင်းခြင်းဖြစ်ပါသည်။ လယ်လုပ်သားတို့မှာ။ ကျွဲတရည်းလျှင် စပါး ၅၀^၆ ကျ ဟံ သာဝတီမြို့ဝန်။ ရေဝန်။ အခွန်ဝန်။ အကောက်ဝန်။ စစ်ကဲ။ နာခံ။ စာရေးကြီးတို့က ဆင့်ဆိုရာ နာခံ၍။ ဟံ သာဝတီမြို့ ကျိတော်မှာ ဆက်သွင်းပါရသည်ဘုရား။ ။

အခရိန်မြို့ ၆၄၃ စစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ တော်သလင်းလဆန်း ၁၁ ရက်နေ့။ ဟံသာဝတီ ၂၂ မြို့အဝင်။ အခရိန်မြို့သူ ကြီးငထော်ကလွဲ နံ ၂။ အသက် ၈၅ နှစ်ရှိသူ။ ချက်။ အခရိန်မြို့ကို ကျွန်တော်ဘေး ငထော်ကလွဲ ကြီးစိုးစီရင်ပါ သည်။ ဘေးမရှိနောက်။ ဘိုးနေပလှာပါသုံး ကြီးစိုးစီရင်ပါသည်။ ဘိုးမရှိလျှင်။ ဘာငအောင်ကျော် ကြီးစိုးစီ ရင်ပါသည်။ ဘမရှိနောက်။ ကျွန်တော်ဆက်ခံ၍ ကြီးစိုး စီရင်ပါသည်။ အခရိန်မြို့မြေ အရှေ့ကိုလားသော် လ ကွန်းမျဉ်းချောင်း မြေခွန်ဘုရားထိ။ တောင်ကို လားသော်။ မအူမြို့ မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အနောက်ကို လား သော် တောင်းလင်းချောင်းထိ။ မြောက်ကို လားသော် မြေတိုင်ရဲလှအာကာ ကြီးစိုးသည်။ မဟူရာမြေစပ်။ နယ် ၄ ရပ် သတ်မှတ်သည်အတွင်း။ လက်ရှိလက်မကွာ ကြီးစိုးစီရင်ပါရသည်။ နယ်မြေအတွင်း ရှိနေသည်။ အသည်အိမ် ၁၀။ ကျားငယ် ၂။ မငယ် ၂။ စုစုဦးရေပေါင်း ၁၂၅ ရှိပါသည်။ ဦးရေစာရင်းကို ရွှေဘဝါးတော် မြတ်အောက် တင်ဆက်ပါသည်ဘုရား။ ။

CORRESPONDENCE ON BURMESE LINGUISTICS.

57, Earls Court Square,
London, S. W. 5,

Dear Sir,

12-1-18.

I should like to thank you for your full and appreciative notice of my translation of my friend Brandstetter's excellent essays on Indone-

sian Linguistics, which I have just seen in the April No. of the J. B. R. S. that reached me (very much belated) this morning. I welcome the appearance of your notice the more, inasmuch as the study of Burmese linguistics is still in a stage in which it may derive profit from the method exemplified in my friend's work. Linguistics, like every other art and science, has its technique, which can and should be mastered by those who wish to do original work in this department, and I consider that Brandstetter sets a good example in that matter. You will notice his strict adherence to phonetic law: it is one of the leading characteristics of his method. Admitting, as one may perhaps admit, that any sound may in the course of ages shift and change into any other, it is manifest that there is a big logical gap between such an admission and a particular conclusion that in one or more individual instances the change has in fact taken place. It is only by the careful and systematic tabulation of whole series of such individual phenomena that we can arrive at conclusions combining the alleged individual changes into organic groups, each of which will embody a bundle of evidence of an actual tendency to change *in a particular direction and towards a particular result*, as between different stages of a language or group of cognate languages. When, by such process of tabulation, a number of these correspondences have been discovered, they have been termed "laws," which merely means that they exemplify a certain uniformity in the processes of change in question. But it is that uniformity, that exemplification of order or "law," if we choose so to term it, which raises the conclusions above the reach of merely accidental coincidence. And it is that result which I should like to see achieved for Burmese philology, as it has been achieved (at any rate to a very great extent) for the Indo-European (Aryan) and Indonesian, and some other, families of speech. Here comes in another side of the method: we should proceed from a centre outwards, from the known to the less known, and therefore compare Burmese in the first place with its older forms (as evidenced in inscriptions, the comparison of its various dialects, etc.) and then with the cognate languages (Chin, Kachin, etc.)¹ of its own family, before going further. In that way we get a surer substratum for wider comparisons.

I am inclined to think you are disposed to underrate the chances of merely fortuitous resemblance between languages which (for all that has been proved up to the present)¹ may be entirely unconnected. The possible combinations of sounds on a purely mathematical basis is no criterion, for only a limited number of combinations are really *possible*. There *must* be a vowel now and then, and vowels are not as numerous as consonants, and perhaps even more fluctuating and subject to change. Some Chinese dialects only admit about 400 combinations of sounds (apart from the modifications caused by differences in tone and by aspiration or non-aspiration). It would not be difficult, therefore, to discover analogies amongst such 400 phonetic types with languages such as those of Europe, where words run into many thousands. Similar dangers await the student who compares, for example Sanskrit *roots* with European *words*.

However, these are matters which no doubt you will have had opportunity to consider, and it is beyond the scope of this letter to go further into them. My main purpose is to express my obligations to you review of the work which I had the honour to translate. Should you, by any chance, be able to spare an extract copy of your notice to send to Dr. R. Brandstetter, Lucerne, Switzerland, I am sure it would give him much pleasure to receive it.

Yours faithfully,
C. OTTO BLAGDEN.

Shwe Zan Aung, Esq., B. A.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, FOR 1913-14.

Extract from *The Times* (of London) *Literary Supplement*
(Thursday: December 6th, 1917).

"It has often been charged against the British Government that, however zealous in furthering the economic development of its eastern dominions, it has rarely taken any serious interest in them as treasure-houses of antique culture and art. To a great extent the charge is justified. How long, for instance, has this country, guardian of the greatest of Eastern civilizations, had to wait for the establishment of such an institution as the School of Oriental Studies, which has just published an extremely interesting first report of its progress? And how much longer, we may add, is it to be before this school is endowed in a manner in some degree adequate to the importance and comprehensiveness of its task? It was never meant to be a mere school of languages, but no one can claim that it is capable at present of being the great centre for the study of Eastern art, culture, and philosophy, which ought long ago to have existed in the capital of the British Empire. The question not as regards this school alone but the whole attitude of the English official mind towards the East, is one of serious practical import, for undoubtedly a large part of the political troubles which we have to meet in India, and which we shall assuredly have in Burma, in Persia, in Arabia (including Mesopotamia), are due to the lack among our administrators of precisely the kind of preparation which a "liberal education" in Eastern studies can alone supply. Countries that have not one-tenth of our interests in the East are doing far more than we are for the study of Eastern culture.

"If, however, there is one department of British rule, in the East which is free from this reproach, which stands out as a shining example of wise and capable administration, it is the Archaeological Survey of India. One wonders how such a thing comes to exist! To be sure, it was very near being abolished a few years ago. But surprisingly and happily there turned out to be a sufficient body of intelligent public opinion in England to prevent this disaster, and the Survey continues

to do its admirable work, combining officialism with ideals in a manner which we should take as a matter of course in French territories, but which still strikes us as something a little exotic under the British Rāj.

"The last Annual Report of this Survey, which covers the period 1913-14, is one of unusual interest. The first article, by Sir John Marshall, Director of the Survey, describes the explorations recently made by him among the monuments of Sāñchi, the great Buddhist site of Northern India. The plan published in connexion with this article shows that structures amounting to at least double the extent of the remains hitherto known have now been laid bare on the central plateau. Moreover, discoveries of great interest have been made in regard to the great Stupa which exists nearly intact. It is now shown that the original Stupa was a structure of brick erected contemporaneously with the Pillar of Asoka near the southern gateway in the latter half of the third century B. C., which the outer envelope of stone and the two great Procession Paths with their carved balustrades which encircle the Stupa were later additions. The lower path has been found to be paved with great flags of stone extending the whole width of the path—about 9 ft.—each bearing a short *ex-voto* inscription from some pious donor. The beginning of the first century B. C. is suggested by Sir J. Marshall as a probable data for the completion of this magnificent monument as we have it now. The fragments of a large stone relic case have been discovered on the summit of the Stupa. The contents in this instance had of course disappeared, but discoveries of unbroken caskets have also occasionally been made. Sixty years ago General Cunningham found in Stupa III, the untouched relics of two of the most famous disciples of Gautama, Sariputra and Mahamogalana. "The relics themselves" remarks Sir J. Marshall, "together with the steatite caskets in which they reposed and the gems and other articles that accompanied them, seem to have been taken away by the finder and subsequently lost" but one of the caskets, still bearing the clear-cut legend Maha-Mogalanasa, came to light in the course of the explorations here described. Very different was the procedure in 1910, when Dr. Spooner made his great discovery of relics of Gautama at the Kanishka Stupa, Peshawar. The relics, encased in gold, were conveyed to Burma after a stately presentation ceremony at Calcutta, and are now enshrined at Mandalay—an act in which every feature redounded to the credit of the Indian Government, and which made a deep impression on the Buddhist community throughout the East.

"Matters of such artistic interest are touched on in Sir John Marshall's article—for instance, the dating of the various gateways of the Great Stupa by a consideration of the styles of the bas-reliefs carved upon them, where the author's judgment has in one case at least been confirmed by a subsequently discovered inscription. But for a full discussion of the iconography, epigraphy, and history of these shrines we must wait for the monograph which Sir J. Marshall has promised us, and in which he will have the assistance of MM. Senart and Foucher on matters within their special province. From the early date of these

remains as well as the richness and variety of the sculptured decoration, we may expect that the forthcoming work will be of great importance in helping us to reconstruct the history of Buddhism during the period when there can be no question of the infiltration of Christian influences.

"The Buddha legend and its spread through-out the East is the subject of another article of exceptional interest in this report. It is contributed by Mr. Charles Duroiselle, and deals with the sculptures in the Ananda Temple in Pagan, Burma. This strange, deserted city, which lines the Irrawaddy for over eight miles and where no population has lived for six centuries, is described by M. Chevrillon in one of the most brilliant books ever written about Eastern travel:—

Ils se pressaient, les grands temples, contemporains du haut moyen age, quelques-uns des tout premiers siecles de notre ere, poses sur des assises de forteresses, aveugles, sans aucune ouverture, puissants de lignes et graves comme toutes les aeuves d'art des ferventes epoques archaïques.

"And, here, he says, rightly, one can trace plainly the profound Hindu influence which came "avec l'ardeur de douddhiste, a l'epoque ou les idees elaborees dana la vallee du Ganges'en allerent jusqu'au Nippon feconder tout l'Extreme Orient." It is here, writes Mr. Duroiselle, that the traveller finds the Ananda Temple "in its dazzling garb of white and with its gilt spire glittering in the morning sun" And this temple is notable for containing in its corridors a very remarkable and complete series of sculptures in relief illustrating the career of Gautama. They are Hindu work (except where restored), and date from about the close of the eleventh century. Besides over 1,000 terra-cotta tiles illustrating the shorter Jataka stories together with conflicts of Gautama with the hosts of evil and his final triumph and apotheosis, there are nearly 400 reliefs in stone, telling the story of the Ten Great Jatakas, each bearing a contemporary inscription in Talaing in which the meaning of the representation is explained. Fifty-eight of these are illustrated and described in Mr. Duroiselle's article. The artistic value of these sculptures is not very great. They are good journeyman work. But the inscriptions give them exceptional interest as records and they have a high religious value in calling to mind—as they do to this day, for the Ananda Temple is still a place of worship—the many tender and beautiful stories connected with the life and mission of Gautama. Mr. Duroiselle has in this article broken fresh ground, for, as he points out, the published materials for the study of Burmese art, or Hindu art in Burma, are extremely scanty. Yet the field is a very rich one. There are sculptures of the 6th century or earlier at Sarekkettara and Arakan, and Mr. Duroiselle points out that the city of Tagaung, which is mentioned in Ptolemy's Geography and which was colonized by Indians from the North offers almost virgin soil to the explorer. It may be hoped that due attention will be paid not only to the art of the Hindu colonist or missionary, but to the native art of Burma itself, for, situated as it is at the meeting point of Hindu and Mongol influences, it has assimilated both

of them, and evolved an artistic synthesis, as well as a life and culture of rare individuality and charm."

THE BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY OF THE REAL.

The Editor has asked me to make some comments on U Shwe Zan Aung's articles on "the Buddhist Philosophy of the Real" which have appeared in all three parts of volume VII of this Journal.

My first comment is that, after reading these articles I do not seem to have gained much enlightenment about the Buddhist Philosophy of the Real, as the description of it given is nearly always in the language of Bergson or of Russell, two modern writers whose whole aim and purpose in philosophizing is out of all relation with that of the early Buddhist writers to whom U Shwe Zan Aung refers, and the occasional correspondences between whose teaching and Buddhism seem to me to be in almost no case significant.

Unfortunately the main object of U Shwe Zan Aung's articles seems to be not so much to explain Buddhism as to force an identity between the doctrines of these modern writers and those of Buddhism. This, to those who know the irreconcilable antagonism between Bergson's and Russell's thought, seems a very bold attempt. How can two things, hostile to each other be judged both to be identical with a third? But projects equally bold have been attempted before. Champions of more than one of the great religions have attempted to show that rival philosophies were merely partial expressions of the single truth of which the religion in question was the sacred repository; a little might have to be excluded from them here and there in order to accommodate these philosophies within the sanctuary of religion, but substantially they were both at one with the religion vindicated and so indirectly with each other. So Plato and Aristotle, the vitalism of ancient thought and the mechanism of Descartes, the dualism of Kant and the monism of Hegel have all been welcomed within the Christian fold and along with these even the Darwinian wolf is regarded by many as a harmless member of the orthodox flock. It is perfectly natural for a Buddhist to take up a corresponding position in relation to his own religion, but the philosophical world will tend to smile at the patronage which U Shwe Zan Aung extends to Bergson and Russell in the name of Buddhism.

The question of the reason for correspondences and similarities between different philosophical systems has certainly interest, like the similar problem of affinities between the artistic productions of different lands and ages. But the problem hardly becomes real unless the analogies between the two systems compared are significant. It is true that for some minds even non-significant resemblances have a mysterious import. "There is a river in Macedon; and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth; and there is salmons in both." I am afraid that some of the parallels discovered by U Shwe Zan Aung are not much more important than the resemblances alleged by Fluellen between the birth-place of Henry V of England and that of Alexander the Great.

For example it is said to be 'interesting' (page 148, note I) that Bergson should illustrate the relation which (according to a certain view) pre-

vails between the absolute and the conditioned by that between a gold coin and the small change for which it stands, while a gold coin also figures as a stock illustration in Buddhist books when they are occupied with *a totally different doctrine*; the doctrine of the various grades or kinds of knowledge!

If significant resemblances can be found between two theories—and we should expect to find some points of affinity between two deterministic systems like the philosophy of Russell and Buddhism—various explanations are possible. U Shwe Zan Aung does not favour the explanation according to which the earlier has influenced the later except, curiously, when he goes off on a side issue and tries to show that most probably the Aristotelian Logic is derived from Buddhism. Readers will find in this connection an extreme example of the style of argumentation with which U Shwe Zan Aung has made them familiar in his philological dissertations. He will not actually swear that Aristotle was present at the surrender of Taxila to Alexander the Great, but there were many other ways in which the learning of Taxila could have influenced him. Now “*there is no doubt* (1) that this town derived its name from the fact that logic was *habitually* taught” there. “The cultured sons of the soil” there ‘were known as the Takka tribe or a race of logicians’! “True, we have not discovered any *ancient (Buddhist) text books* on logic extant.” But there are mediæval works which give examples of a syllogism divided into five parts such as the notorious: (i) Whatever is fiery is smoky. (ii) That hill is smoky. (iii) like a fireplace. (iv) Therefore it is fiery, (v) because it is smoky.

Thus the Aristotelian theory of demonstration is already implicit in this argument with its glaring undistributed middle and implied prosyllogism with an illicit minor, beyond the type of which Indian logic never seems to have passed, and which was devised at a date long subsequent to Aristotle!

I think that most people will prefer to follow a more probable line of reasoning.

But now for the correspondences which the writer does not attempt to explain by influence of the one system on the other. Let us first see if they exist. It would certainly be interesting to find a genuine similarity not explained by historical derivation, and yet somewhat melancholy if we should have to admit that the moderns had in all cases merely blundered upon some of the truths known to the Buddhist sages of long ago.

‘If there be nothing new, but that which is

Hath been before, how are our brains beguiled

Which, labouring for invention, bear a miss

The second burden of a former child!’

Let us first take the alleged identities between Buddhist philosophy and Bergson’s. I propose to consider first (1) the Buddhist doctrine that “all things in the making are changing” (page 6.) This of course is not a doctrine confined to Buddhists. It is practically identical with the Platonic account of the world of sense, viz., that the objects of perceptions are in a continuous flux and the world which they compose is one perpetual becoming. The only point where Buddhism would differ from Plato on this matter would be in including the human personality among the things in the

(1) *Italics mine.*

making. Bergson is certainly nearer Buddhism in also including the person in the world of becoming and in this he would be supported also by any one who took Hume's sceptical theory of the self as a positive doctrine.

So much agreement may be admitted, but U Shwe Zan Aung immediately proceeds to equate the above doctrine, viz., that concrete objects are in a continual flux, with Bergson's assertion that 'the very essence of reality is its mutability.' This transition is totally unwarranted. True a verbal shuffle may disguise its invalidity, if you *call* concrete objects like men and trees 'realities' and then maintain that all such objects are in continuous mutation; you will get the conclusion that 'realities' are in a continuous flux. If you admit nothing but such concrete objects within the extension of the class 'realities,' then you will get the conclusion that 'all realities are mutable' which is not so far from the proposition that 'the essence of reality is its mutability.' But you have proved nothing more than that it is inherent in concrete objects to change. Now from this fact Buddhist writers along with many others have inferred that they are *unreal*. This is surely notorious; the very passages which our author quotes (and in one case *misquotes*) from Buddhist writers bear this out abundantly. The criterion of reality is permanence, that of unreality impermanence. Compare the passage quoted from Buddhaghosa on page 222 'there is nothing permanent and constant like Nibbāna' and the doctrine (page 3 *et passim*) that 'unconditioned reality is Nibbāna' which also is eternal e. g., "out of time." Take again the passage misquoted by U Shwe Zan Aung (page 6) from the Ledi Sadaw (J. P. T. S. 1913—14, page 127 *sub fin*). The former quotes "they (i. e., the realities) come to be and cease from moment to moment." But the expression "i. e., the realities" is erroneously inserted. In fact the reference is to "the aggregates which are ultimate phenomena" referred to a few lines further down in the same passage i. e., the extension, consciousness etc., of which a man is made up. Note that these are *phenomena* which change. No doubt according to Buddhist theory they are not so unreal as the merely 'nominal facts' of 'entity' and 'person,' but in spite of that they are by no means absolute realities. As a matter of fact the whole drift of this passage is irrelevant to the purpose (as indeed most of his quotations are) of U Shwe Zan Aung's argument. The Ledi Sadaw merely urges that there is nothing in fact corresponding to our conception of an unchanging 'person' or 'entity'; all that occurs in an unending stream of these "ultimate phenomena" which "come to be and pass away from moment to moment even in a single day." But it is throughout implied that, if there were not this constant change, then the idea of a permanent self *would* correspond to a reality. The fact is that Buddhism, in the best of company, along with every considerable philosophy with the exception of that of Heraclitus and of Bergson regards the real as the unchanging and mutability as the mark of the unreal. What is so staggering about Bergson's thought is that he runs counter to this almost universal prepossession and tells us that what is *really* real is the vital, the living that *which* is ever changing, which by the constant accumulation of a past cannot avoid being different at every moment and is constantly reaching out into a future that is at every moment a new creation.

It is extraordinary, if Nibbāna is to be identified with 'l'élan vital,' that Buddhism should have shown no traces at all of the practical effect of this doctrine. Instead of the constant assertion that all life is *dukkha*, we should expect some appreciation of 'la vie,' I do not, of course, say 'la vie Parisienne.'

Jesting apart, however, it seems most paradoxical to identify a doctrine like Bergson's, based upon a most intense study of the phenomena of vitality with one which originated in times when the comprehension of the vital was universally most feeble and in a land (India) where hitherto the interest in these phenomena has (with extraordinarily few though brilliant exceptions) lagged behind that manifested in other parts of the world up to the present day.

That Bergson's and the Buddhist theory of reality is identical seems to be U Shwe Zan Aung's main point. In consequence, I suppose, he gives remarkably little prominence to the indubitable fact that both are theories of 'soul-lessness.' But the significance of this identity in the two systems is quite different. Bergson dispenses with the soul theory both as being unnecessary and contradicted by the facts. He thinks the soul theory would imply pre-existence of the soul, which is not a fact. In spite of the fact that there is no separable soul to account (as on other theories) for the unity and continuity of the individual life, the individual is no mere procession of mental states *each real only while it lasts* (page 9 *et passim*) as according to Buddhism. To begin with, this doctrine that each state, whether of individual experience or of anything else, is real while it lasts is not Bergson's theory at all. If I might digress a little I should point out that the doctrine put in the above form is highly ambiguous. My state of astonishment at the attempted assimilation of Bergson's philosophy to Buddhism has lasted since I began to read U Shwe Zan Aung's articles. Has it been real all the time? But I take it that the doctrine in question is intended to be identical with the theory of the 'indubitable momentary existence' not of 'objects' (as on page 234) but of states. Unfortunately, according to Bergson, there are neither real states nor real moments! No doubt from the mathematical point of view this is equivalent to the statement that the rate of change of every state has an infinitely great velocity. But the point is, that the mathematical form of expression misrepresents reality by assuming that there *are* such things as states i. e., it represents the 'mutable reality' by a linear series of 'stable views.'

Not content with attempting to identify the Bergsonian and the Buddhist criterion of reality U Shwe Zan Aung would like to make out that the conscious function by which that reality is grasped is similarly described in both systems i. e., the 'intuition' of Bergson is the same as some function described by Buddhism i. e., the 'insight' of the *Points of Controversy*. The word for this in some cases seems to be *Paññā*, but from the account given this term seems to have been variously applied.

Now it is common to many philosophies to maintain that there are various grades of thought differing in their power of revealing reality to us. The Platonic distinction between 'knowledge' and 'opinion' is famous. Sometimes those who describe the superior powers of one kind of knowl-

edge describe it as *entering into* or *penetrating* reality more adequately, as Bergson claims for his 'intuition,' though sometimes the metaphor used is more akin to that implied by the English word 'understanding.' Now our author on page 149 quotes a passage from the Ledi Sadaw in which knowledge is described as 'penetrating' a fact. But whether this epithet applies exclusively to knowledge in so far as it is intuitive does not appear. The whole passage involves certainly a distinction between intuitive and inferential knowledge, but whether what is here rendered in English 'intuitive knowledge' has any affinities with Bergson's intuition once more does not appear.

Again we are referred to page 133 of the *Points of Controversy* for a contrast between intuition and analysis but I have failed to find any reference to this contrast in the passage cited. It is true that there is a standing distinction in Buddhism between 'insight' (*c. f.* *Points of Controversy* pages 373—4) and knowledge by 'concepts' but this seems to be merely the familiar distinction between the knowledge of 'real' and of 'nominal' facts. The examples of the objects of 'conceptual' knowledge make this clear *viz.*, the *bêtes noires* of Buddhism 'being' 'person' etc. A 'concept' is to be defined in Buddhist writings as an arbitrary idea attached to a word without any corresponding reality. No evidence has been led to show that the Buddhist writers approached a theory of a knowledge (like Bergson's intuition) which is to be *lived* rather than *thought*.

It is of no avail to point out that they distinguished between the knowledge we get by experiencing a sensation (*e. g.*, of taste or of colour) and that which comes by description (of that taste or colour) without personal experience. This by no means coincides with Bergson's distinction between intuition and intellect. The sensuous acquaintance with the spectrum may give you merely the linear series of conceptually distinguished colours. The intuitive knowledge of colour would make you *feel* the red passing into orange and the orange into yellow and so on right through the scale *C. f.* *Creative Evolution*, *tr.* Mitchell, pages 316, 7.—'In order that our activity may leap from an *act* to an *act*, it is necessary that matter should pass from a *state* to a *state*..... Our perception manages to apprehend matter with this bias..... The primal function of perception is precisely to grasp a series of elementary changes under the form of a quality or of a simple state by a work of condensation.' *C. f.* also page 318. 'The qualities of matter are so many stable views that we take of its instability.' This amply proves that sense perception is quite distinct from Bergson's intuition.

Perhaps the most astounding example of U Shwe Zan Aung's settled habit of attempting to describe Buddhist doctrines by language appropriated to speculations which are totally irrelevant to Buddhism is his way of using Bergson's 'irreversible' to translate a Pali expression which means merely *not liable to change*. More extraordinary still is the argument by which he seeks to justify his practice.

Irreversibility according to Bergson is a characteristic of *real* time or duration. It indicates the impossibility of going through the same state twice (*Creative Evolution* page 6 *et passim*), the property of driving ever onwards

to something new and unprecedented which distinguishes real time as opposed to the time of mechanics. From the quotations given from the Ledi Sadaw and other authors it is perfectly clear that the meaning of *avipariṇata* which U Shwe Zan Aung wishes to express by 'irreversibility' is *non-transformability*. One of his reasons for so doing is that 'all conditioned realities are subject to change' (page 239). Hence they cannot be non-transformable I suppose, whereas the world in time is irreversible. Here however, he forgets, that the point was that the Bergsonian time is an *absolute* reality and yet is subject to change. Again U Shwe Zan Aung says that probably *aviparīta* signifies that which cannot go against its nature (page 238). On the other hand all things subject to growth and decay are termed *vipariṇāma-dhammas*. This would make it impossible on Buddhist theory to predicate *aviparīta* of real time, whereas Bergson *does* maintain that it is irreversible.

But "we have *vipariṇāma-dhammas* continually transformed into *vipariṇata-dhammas*. It is in their nature to move forward. We cannot reverse this nature and retransform a succeeding *vipariṇata-dhamma* into a preceding *vipariṇāma-dhamma* which is past recall. This impossibility of retransformation is *in our opinion*¹ *aviparītabhāva* (irreversibility)." That is to say, because (according to the opinion of some—U Shwe Zan Aung for example—) that which is liable to change cannot, when it has changed, change back again and become as it was before it changed, the meaning of the word unchangeability is *not* the incapacity for changing in general but the incapacity of that which has changed for changing back to the state it was in before it changed! It is difficult to determine whether the *petitio principii* or the *ignoratio elenchi* in this argument is the more prominent.

I shall not weary the readers of this Journal with a further enumeration of the irrelevancies of U Shwe Zan Aung's exposition. I maintain that practically the whole of the numerous quotations from Bergson given by him are totally irrelevant to the issue discussed and nothing but some strong prepossession which requires some further explanation can account for the labour and persistence our author has shown in a fruitless quest.

U Shwe Zan Aung seems certainly to be a partisan in the East versus West controversy but this fact is not sufficient to account for his attempt to identify Bergson's teaching with Buddhism. I should suggest that in addition there is possibly in the background a dissatisfaction with the present attitude of traditional Buddhism and an attempt to interpret it as something more akin with the vital and favouring the spirited 'joy in life' of the modern world. It is always possible for the devotees of a religion to change their attitude towards ultimate problems, but a change like that here indicated would be revolutionary for Buddhists. They would have to *deny* that 'all things in the making are evil'; to become disciples of Bergson they must cease to be Buddhists.

The second part of U Shwe Zan Aung's series of articles tries to assimilate Russell also to Buddhism. So far as I can see he has little more success in this case than with Bergson. There is, for example, a thorough-going confusion between reasoning and logic throughout. Neither Aristotle nor Russell invented reasoning and it is possible to find concrete illustrations of the

forms of arguments and propositions described by them in the reasonings of intelligent men, Buddhist or otherwise. What is extraordinary is that, in spite of the immense amount of acute dialectical argument that went on in the Buddhist Schools, there was so little *reflection on argument* i.e., logic. True we find logical points nicely illustrated here and there. Thus in one of the passages quoted from Buddhaghosa (page 222)—a thinker for whom I have a very high respect—there is a very neat illustration of the fallacy of ‘figure of speech.’ But, in spite of this, the *formula* of the fallacy, i. e., its universal characterisation is not given. We are merely carried on from example to example. Still less is there any systematic reasoning upon reasoning.

I fear I have wearied the readers of this Journal sufficiently by this time and shall postpone either till next number or indefinitely any further criticism of the affinities traced between Russell’s and Buddhist determinism.

G. R. T. Ross.

BURMESE NOVELS.

1.—*Maung Yin Maung and Ma Mè Ma*, by James Hla Gyarw, Rangoon: Friend of Burma Press 1904.

This professes to be “a novel in Burmese being the first in the language.” The circumstances under which it was produced have been told very briefly in this Journal, Volume VII, Part II, page 175 ff. and would lead one naturally to find in the making of it a great deal of western influence. Indeed, a novel in the modern sense of the word was so unfamiliar to the Burmese mind that the author thought it expedient to qualify the title by saying that the book was “compiled” from the papers left behind by Maung Yin Maung. The reader is further informed (p. 2) that since the children and grand children of the characters in the story were still living in 1904 assumed names have been employed in the compilation. How far this trick on the part of the author was successful is a matter of little or no literary importance. Perhaps it was so far successful that the author made a name as one who introduced a new form of literature to those who were unacquainted with English. For the papers from which the story was compiled were the papers (we must assume the existence of these on the analogy of the book under view) from which Alexander Dumas compiled his story of *the Count of Monte Cristo*! Maung Yin Maung is none other than the Count in Burmese garb. Of course having reincarnated in Burma the Count must behave like a true Burman and cannot do many things that he has done in Europe. He is no more a man of terrible vengeance and a stern instrument of judgment but has become a very amiable and soft-hearted man ready to forgive and forget, as a good Buddhist ought to be. He is so nervous in the presence of his sweet heart that the author confidently lays down the law that (in Burma at least) when two lovers meet, the lady is more self-possessed than the gentleman and has often to prompt his words! He however is more

fortunate in Burma in that he is at last united in wedlock with his first love. Although he is still endowed with readiness of resource he suffers terribly from an excessive belief in the law of karma. This belief that man is the victim of his acts and that his life is conditioned by them has been the parrot-cry of indolent people, who will not realize that man is master of his acts, at least so far as the present time is concerned.

It is clear that the story-interest of the book is very largely due to its European prototype. It is of course left to the choice of any novelist to take the plot of his story from any source he likes. But if any one has directly obtained it from another he should be able to justify his claim to the title of novelist by attaining excellence in one or more of the other points essential to the making of a novel—character, description, dialogue and style. In none of these points does the book, allowing for obvious differences of language, country and time come up to its prototype. And in none of them does it excel as it does in the plot. In other words, the plot is its chief characteristic and this has been directly borrowed from a European book.

The character-drawing is uniformly maintained. The heroine and the other women of the story are exactly what ideal Burmese women should be. The same remark applies to the other characters, monk and layman alike.

There is little description. Dialogue suffers from the usual way of making speeches grammatical parts of long complex sentences. A more tactful use of the direct narration is wanting to make Burmese dialogues as lively and interesting as they ought to be. As it is the book reads more like a narration than a novel. Its defect in manners-painting is one proof of this. Indeed the author has thrown away many opportunities of setting off the various incidents by the mysterious touch of the artist. Witness the bare account of the scene between the hero and the parents of the heroine on the occasion of his asking for her hand (p. 17 ff). The diction is that of a simple narration. In making these remarks we should not forget that the book under review is the first novel in Burmese and is entitled to all the privileges of a pioneer work. The illustrations are not very good and some are untrue to the story.

—Editor.

2.—*Maung Hmaing**—I.

The opening decade of the present century inaugurates a period of transition in the literary history of Burma. Since 1904 Burmese fiction has been in a state of flux. The new order that has emerged is not yet free of the crudities of a new-found art. Yet its achievement is of positive value. Realism has invaded the romance of fancy and the grey atmosphere of ordinary everyday life has received at long last an artistic interpretation.

The way of the Burmese novel was cleared not by James Hla Gyaw alone, since his contemporary U Maung Gyi gave to the world the first

* *Maung Hmaing* by U Maung Gyi Re. 1/4 (Hanthawaddy Press).

volume of *Maung Hmaing* soon after the publication of *Maung Yin Maung and Ma Mè Ma*. *Maung Hmaing* is a three-decker novel that fluttered our dovescots at the hour of its appearance. But its enormous vogue helped make the new genre popular.

The novel takes us back to the time when this Province was under the Burmese Raj and Ava was the capital. The story opens at the metropolis where Maung Hmaing, a roselle-seller drives his homely trade. Though humble in station he is a man of quick parts. He falls violently in love with Kin Le Gyi, the daughter of a *Winhmu*.† She is also the *fiancée* of Maung Maung Gyi, the son of another *Winhmu*.† To arrive at his end, Maung Hmaing hits upon an utterly daring design. Under cover of darkness, he steals into Kin Le Gyi's chamber and wakens her. She takes alarm. But he dissolves her fears with winning words and presses his suit. She refuses. He is persistent. She is at last won. Owing to the disparity of their social positions, she gives him the wherewithal to efface his low degree. He resolves to make himself.

He tells Maung Maung Gyi that Kin Le Gyi is his lady-love. Maung Maung Gyi declines to credit the startling news. Maung Hmaing proves by ocular demonstration. Ere long, he goes down the Irrawaddy with a goodly following.

He arrives in Minhla. He now passes himself off as Maung Maung Gyi, *Myosa* of Pin, Natmauk and Kyaukpadaung and gives out that he is on his way to Rangoon to make purchases for the King. Before long, he weds Ma Ma Gyi and carries on a liaison with her widowed step-mother Ma E Kywè. After some time, he leaves them for Rangoon on false pretences.

He breaks journey at Prome. There he is known as Maung Gale and passes himself for a jeweller. He marries Mè Wun, the daughter of U Kyaung Ban, a well-to-do broker. After some months he takes boat for Rangoon ostensibly to trade.

He reaches his destination and assumes the role of Kin Maung Gyi, His Majesty's Purchaser. He wins the heart and hand of Kin Kin Bi, the daughter of a Babu merchant of fame and fortune. By a shabby trick he returns to Ava laden with rich fabrics.

He touches at Prome and Minhla. With honied words he dissipates the doubts of his wives. He leaves them apparently with many regrets. He reaches Ava and styles himself Kin Maung Gyi of Rangoon. Just on his arrival he learns that the marriage of Kin Le Gyi with Maung Maung Gyi is a matter of hours. The news half-kills him. He stoutens his heart and embarks upon a great gamble. In collusion with Kin Le Gyi and the Brahmin who is to solemnize the marriage, he poses as Maung Maung Gyi and takes the bride as his wedded wife before the arrival of the bridegroom.

After a considerable tract of time, he proceeds first to Minhla and then to Prome and lastly to Rangoon in order to see his wives. Misfortune confronts him at every turn. At Minhla he finds neither of his

† Officer in charge of one of the four quarters around the palace.

wives. Ma Ma Gyi is no more and Ma E Kywè has departed for Ava on the bare chance of happening upon him. At Prome he is told of Mè Wun's strange disappearance. In Rangoon he learns that Kin Kin Bi has gone to Ava to seek him out.

After a purposeful delay he makes for Ava. In a desperate gale, his boat capsizes. He is washed ashore. A Karen fisherman and his daughter Dat Po chance upon Maung Hmaing. Dat Po prevails upon her father to give the castaway food and shelter. Forgetful of her kindness, Maung Hmaing pays court to the girl. He is baffled by her *naïveté*. He redoubles his efforts. She is taken in his toils. He is minded to live with her forever. Eventually the ugly reality flashes upon him. He deserts her and returns home. At Ava he is apprised of the presence of his wives. Though the news has a disturbing effect upon his mind, he means to face facts squarely and deal with them as best he may. To this end, he eavesdrops at the houses of his wives. To his utter dismay, he hears their threats to handle him without kid-gloves.

Such in brief is the story. Whimsy and fantasy, farce and extravaganzas are so insistently noticeable in the book that one is provoked to call it a 'novel-romance.' The border-line between Romance and Novel is somewhat faint and impalpable, witness Scott and the Bröntes. As a matter of plain fact, in every romance the germ of a novel lies concealed and in every novel there is the suggestion or the possibility of a romance. Out of the Arthurian cycle of romances, Malory has fashioned his *Morte d'Arthur* which is, in a sheaf of senses, the pioneer of the English novel. On the other hand, the atmosphere of *Love and Mr. Lewisham*, that compelling novel of Mr. H. G. Wells is suffused with romantic feeling and colour. Speaking broadly, a romance is objective while a novel is subjective. In the former the incident interest is of salient importance and in the latter the character-and-motive interest forms the supreme factor. The one absorbs our attention in events or happenings; the other directs our mind to the development of character. A romancer handles life neglectful of truth to fact and sanity of imagination. But a novelist represents a phase of life and blends realism conventional morality and mental analysis.

Maung Hmaing is open at many points to adverse criticism. The plot is slight and the episodes of the story are strung together along the thread of the principal character. The way in which the chain of circumstance and event is woven makes a heavy demand upon the reader's credulity.

At moments the novel gives intimate revelations of the shadows and depths in human character. In a sense, the personages are drawn with a depth of understanding. But each and all lack repose. The novelist stresses too heavily a particular trait or eccentricity, Maung Hmaing is acutely susceptible to every sparkle of a winsome woman's eye. In fact he riots in lust. It is seldom that he feels the prick of conscience. Even in times of deepest repentance, he seems to have a hugging hatred of lewdness. His character is a study in the degradation wrought by carnality. As a hero, he is plainly impossible. His plans

succeed far too well. There is no hitch, no disturbing factor. Like John Bunce he always marries a sweetly fair woman. A successful courtship follows close upon an abrupt introduction.

Of love as a spiritual passion the novelist seems to be densely ignorant. He represents marriage as a little more than an affair of sexual commerce. Moreover his women are incapable of seeing through the camouflage of words. They are much too yielding, much too easily won. Not to believe in a woman's No is the approved method of winning her. Still can any thinking man doubt the existence of Lady Disdain? Has not Shakespeare described her in proud phrases in a score or so of his sonnets?

Dialogue appears to be the author's strong point. Its skilful conduct makes some of his characters seem real to us. In conversation they often appeal to ancient history. Is not this, after all, an infirmity? The reference at times verges on the ludicrous. The hero while intriguing with Ma E Kywè, expresses the pangs of unfulfilled desire. In support he quotes the high authority of his scriptures. ယံအကြင်အလိုရှိအပ်သောမကြွယ်ကို၊ နလတ္တံတိ၊ မရ၊ တံ၊ ထိုသို့ကိုယ်ချစ်သောသူကိုမရခြင်းကြောင့်၊ ခုကွံ့၊ ခုကွံ့ဖြစ်၏ဟု၊ ကျမ်းဂန်ကဆိုသည့်အတိုင်းမကြွယ်ကိုမရလျှင်၊ ခုကွံ့ကြီးဖြစ်ပါလိမ့်မည်။

This is on a par with the passage in Lyly's *Euphues* where Seneca is cited to bear out the statement that an overstrained bow will break. Does it need a philosopher to tell us such platitudes?

The novel before us has no esthetic description of scenery. The author is mainly concerned with the progress of the story. He possesses a forceful grasp of the situation and describes with straightforward telling energy. As a weaver of words he has no small skill. Take this passage from Kin Kin Bi's billet-doux to Maung Hmaing.

လင်္ကာဒီပ။ ကျွန်းညိုမြို့တွင်။ ဝိဇယဘုန်းခေါင် မယ်ကုဝဏ်အား။ ရွှေမေတ္တာပွားတယ်လို့။ စလျားတော်နှောင်ပြီးမှ။ နန်းဆောင်မြင့်ဘွေ၊ မြန်မြန်ဆင်း၊ မင်းမနေနဲ့ ဟု၊ ထိုင်းပြေတပင်၊ အဝေးသို့နှင်ဘူးပါသည်။ ခင်ခင်ဘီလဲ၊ သည်တသက်တွင်။ အရှက်တော်မကွပ်ရစို့နှင့်။ (King Wizaya took Kuwunna to wife with profuse professions of love in Lingadipa, that emerald isle. As time went on, he divested her of her high estate and demanded her speedy departure. Let me not live to be dishonoured in this fashion.) The style has no high distinction. But it possesses the promise of splendour.

The most serious objection to the novel is its low moral tone. To describe the hero's amours would be to violate decency. There is a strong appeal to the more vulgar kinds of human interest. Stark realism is depicted with the accuracy of a Dutch painter. It leaves on the reader the impression that the novelist has lived strenuously and enjoyed greatly. From its perusal one emerges certainly not a better man. Possibly one becomes wiser in regard to the depth into which that man sinks who gives himself up to sensuality.

BA HAN.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

RECEIVED SINCE DECEMBER 1917, Vol. VII, Part III.

1. **Archaeological Survey of India**—Annual Report 1915-16, Part I.
2. **The Indian Antiquary**, April, July, August, September 1917, Index to Vol. XLV, 1916.
3. **Journal Asiatique recueil de Memoires et de notices relatifs aux etudes orientales public par la societe asiatique**, No. 2 March and April 1917.
4. **Report of the Rangoon Development Committee, and Report on the Reclamation Rangoon Town Lands**, for the year 1916-17.
5. **Annual Progress Report (Abridged) of the Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle**, for the year ending 31st March, 1917.
6. **Journal of the East India Association**, New series, Vol. IX, No. I January 1918.
7. **Dr. Marks' Forty years in Burma**, Edited by Rev. W. C. B. Purser, M. A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

*Minutes of a meeting of the Sub-Committee held on the 16th January, 1918,
at Rangoon College.*

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esquire, C. I. E.—*President.*

J. T. Best, Esqr. | Prof. Maung Tin, M. A.

Prof. W. G. Fraser, M. A.

1. The minutes of the meeting held on the 12th November, 1917, were confirmed.
2. The present state of the roll was considered. It was resolved—
 - (1) that thirteen members should be deemed to have resigned because they have left Burma.
 - (2) that twenty-three members should be deemed to have resigned because they have not paid for a period of years in spite of reminders issued.
 - (3) that other members in arrears should receive a further letter and reminder before the Honorary Secretary takes action with regard to their membership.
 - (4) that the question of members on military service or on leave should be brought before the Committee at its next meeting.
3. It was decided that the annual meeting should be held on the 7th February, when a paper by Mr. J. Stuart "Glimpses of Burma Eighty Years ago" should be read.

*Minutes of a meeting of the Committee held at Rangoon College on
23rd January, 1918.*

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esquire, C. I. E.—*President.*

J. T. Best, Esquire, M. A.—*Vice-President.*

J. S. Furnivall, Esquire, I. C. S.—*Vice-President.*

The Right Rev. Bishop Cardot.

J. J. Nolan, Esqr.

Rev. Dr. Gilmore.

Prof. W. G. Fraser, *Hony. Secy.*

1. The minutes of the last meeting held on December 3rd, were confirmed.
2. The recommendations of the Sub-Committee with regard to the roll of members were approved.
3. Considered the position of members out of Burma on military service or on leave.

RESOLVED—that members on military service should be regarded as absent members and should not be required to pay the subscription for the period of their absence. If on their return they desire copies of the Journal for the period of their absence, they should receive copies on payment of the subscription for that period. No alteration of the present practice was necessary in the case of members on leave out of Burma.

4. On the President's proposal, seconded by Mr. J. T. Best, Vice-President, Mr. J. Stuart was elected a corresponding member.

5. The reports of the Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer were approved as amended.

6. Arrangements for the election of officers at the Annual General Meeting were made. It was agreed to recommend that the officers for 1917 should be re-elected with the exception of the late Mr. G. F. Arnold and Rev. W. Purser who has resigned.

7. The Honorary Secretary was empowered to approach His Honour Sir Reginald Craddock, Lieut.-Governor of Burma, with the request that he should become Patron of the Society in succession to Sir Harcourt Butler.

8. Discussed a proposal by Mr. J. J. Nolan that printed copies of papers to be read at general meetings of the society should be sent previous to the meetings to such members as applied for them, so as to facilitate discussion.

RESOLVED—that the Honorary Secretary should ascertain from the A. B. M. Press on what terms advance copies of such papers could be supplied.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at Rangoon College on the 7th of February 1918. Mr. M. Hunter, C. I. E., President of the Society was in the chair. The following members were present:—

J. T. Best, Esq., U Hpay, A. T. M., K. S. M., (Vice-Presidents), Right Rev. Bishop Cardot, U May Oung, Rev. D. C. Gilmore, Dr. G. R. T. Ross, Messrs. Guy Rutledge, J. J. Nolan, J. Clague, A. Khalak, G. H. Luce, Maung Aung Than, Saya Thein, Prof. Maung Tin (Honorary Editor) and Prof. W. G. Fraser, (Honorary Secretary.)

1. The Honorary Secretary read the Annual Reports for 1917. The following was the Honorary Secretary's report:—

ROLL OF MEMBERS.—The list of members published in the Journal for December, 1916, was inaccurate. The number on the roll should have been 248. Of these one was Patron, 3 were corresponding members, 14 were Life Members and 230 were ordinary members.

During the year 1917, five members have died, namely Mr. G. F. Arnold, C. I. E., I. C. S., a former Vice-President of the Society; The Hon'ble U Tun Myat, U Po Hnit, T. D. M., K. S. M., Mr. Forbes and U Pe Maung, K. S. M., F. R. G. S.

Eight members have resigned; and eight members have written saying they had previously resigned.

Thirty-six members have been deemed to have resigned.

Twenty-one new members have been elected, of whom one was corresponding member, Rev. R. Halliday; five were Life Members and fifteen were ordinary members.

Eleven former ordinary members have become Life Members.

Hence the list of members at present is as follows:—

- 1 Patron.
- 4 Corresponding Members
- 30 Life Members.
- 177 Ordinary Members.

The total membership is thus 212.

Prof. Maung Tin acted as Honorary Secretary until I took over the duties from him in the end of March.

The Annual General Meeting was held on the 15th March, and another ordinary meeting was held on 30th August. At those meetings papers by Mr. J. S. Furnivall, Vice-President, were read, namely "From China to Peru" and "Samuel White." The Committee met four times and the Sub-Committee six times. Three numbers of the Journal were published under the continued Editorship of Prof. Maung Tin.

Amongst the activities of the Society were the following:

A prize of Rs. 50/- for a Burmese poem was awarded to Maung Aung Dun, Prome.

On the proposal of Mr. J. S. Furnivall, circulars were issued to members and non-members, inviting them to become Life Members, their subscription to be invested in the War Loan. As a result, ten ordinary members became Life Members, and four new Life Members were elected.

A Burmese Marching Songs Competition for prizes offered by Mr. J. S. Furnivall was arranged. There was a large number of entries.

A series of four lectures to be delivered at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition in January, 1918, was arranged.

The following was the Honorary Treasurer's report:—

Maung Set held the post of Honorary Treasurer until March 1917, when I took over from him.

On 1st January, 1917, there was a balance of Rs. 5077-8-9 in favour of the Society. During the year income, detailed in the statement of accounts, amounted to Rs. 5309-6-8. Expenditure amounted to Rs. 3211-12-6. Of this the cost of the Journal makes over two thirds: this large sum being due to the fact that four issues of the Journal were paid for in 1917, and to the enhanced cost of printing, etc.

Rs. 3000/- formerly on fixed deposit was invested in the Indian War Loan, War Bonds 1920 at 5½ per cent, as also Rs. 1500/- received as subscriptions for Life Membership. Rs. 600/- is held in the form of

Post Office Cash Certificates, sent as subscriptions for Life Membership. I have estimated these according to the amount due on their maturity. The balance at the bank amounted at the close of the year to Rs. 1966-0-5. Out of this the December issue of Journal has to be paid for.

Copies of the Revenue and Expenditure statement were distributed at the meeting.

Dr. Ross enquired what was the total of Life Membership subscriptions invested in the War Loan. The Honorary Secretary stated the subscriptions of fourteen Life Members were invested in the War Loan, each subscription amounting to Rs. 150.

On the motion of Mr. Nolan, seconded by Mr. Rutledge, the Annual Reports were unanimously adopted.

2. Before proceeding to the election of office bearers, the President said that he had much pleasure in intimating that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor had agreed to become Patron of the Society in succession to The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler.

3. The office bearers for 1918 were then elected. Mr. Hunter was re-elected President. In accepting office for the third year in succession, Mr. Hunter expressed his thanks to the Society and promised to do his best for the Society during the coming year. Mr. J. S. Furnivall, Mr. J. T. Best, and U Hpay were re-elected Vice-Presidents. Prof. Fraser was re-elected Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, and Prof. Maung Tin was re-elected Honorary Editor.

The following were re-elected members of the Committee:—

Rev. D. C. Gilmore, M. A., Mr. Taw Sein Ko, C. I. E., Mr. Chas. Duroiselle, Mr. J. J. Nolan, U May Oung, M. A., LL. B., The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Mg. Kin, U Ba, B. A., Mr. A. P. Morris, The Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Rutledge, Prof. G. R. T. Ross, The Hon'ble Mr. C. M. Webb, The Right Rev. Bishop Cardot, U Kyaw Dun, K. S. M., Mr. A. Rodger, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Rangoon, Rev. J. A. Drysdale, U Po Byu, U Shwe Zan Aung, Mr. L. Ah Yain, Mr. R. E. V. Arbuthnot, and Mr. L. F. Taylor.

The following were also elected members of the Committee:—
Prof. Luce, Mr. G. Harvey, I. C. S., Mr. A. Khalak.

4. The Chairman then called on Mr. Luce to read a paper by Mr. J. Stuart, entitled "Glimpses of Burma Eighty years Ago." The paper dealt with the items of news in a Moulmein newspaper of 1837. "The Maulmein Chronicle" There were references to the unsettled state of

affairs in Ava, to the journeys of Richardson and Macleod, and Dr. Helfer to the shipping and trade at Moulmein, and other subjects. Mr. Stuart commented especially on the glowing anticipations of prosperity for Moulmein, and pointed out how these had not been fulfilled. Mr. Stuart's paper is printed in full elsewhere in the Journal.

There was a lively discussion after the reading of the paper. U May Oung regretted that no light was shed on the attitude of the Burmese and Talaings of Moulmein at that period. Dr. Ross suggested that Burmese investigators might be better able to obtain materials for such an enquiry. Mr. Rutledge was struck by the modesty of the editor of the newspaper, and suggested that it would add to the amusement of one Society to enquire how long that admirable spirit prevailed. Mr. Nolan discussed the tone of the newspaper, and also expressed interest in the prospects of wealth from iron ore, mentioned in the paper. He also suggested that it would be well if the materials used by Mr. Stuart and others in preparing papers, should be placed in the hands of the Society for collection and preservation.

The Chairman discussed the references to iron ore and potash in the paper. He said that the Society was greatly indebted to Mr. Stuart for his interesting papers. The Committee had just elected him a Corresponding Member to show their appreciation of his work.

After the meeting, refreshments were served, and the discussion between members was continued.

Minutes of a meeting of the Sub-Committee held at Rangoon College on the 28th February, at 8 a. m.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esquire, C. I. E.—*President.*

J. T. Best, Esqr. | Prof. Maung Tin.

Prof. W. G. Fraser.

1. The minutes of the meeting held on 16th January were confirmed.
2. Read a letter from Capt. Stuart regarding the Burmese Marching Songs Competition. Resolved that the Honorary Secretary should inquire whether a selection of the best songs had been made.
3. Resolved that the price of the Journal should be fixed at Rs. 5/- for non-members; and Rs. 3/- for members.
4. Considered the printing in full in the Rangoon Press of papers read at General Meetings. Resolved that abstracts of the papers only should be printed.
5. Considered the printing of advance copies of papers to be read at meetings. Resolved to take no action in this matter for the present.
6. Elected Mr. W. A. Scholes a member of the Society.

The following matters submitted by circular were dealt with by the Sub-Committee:—

1. The suggestion of the Chief Librarian, Vajirañāṇa National Library, Bangkok, that an exchange between its publications and the Journal of the Burma Research Society should be effected was agreed to;
2. Mr. V. N. Sivaya, Barrister-at-Law, proposed by U May Oung, seconded by the Honorary Secretary, was elected a member of the Society.

10th April, 1918.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Corrected to 31st December, 1917.

Adamson, Sir Harvey, M.A., LL.D., KT., K.C.S.I.	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Arbuthnot, R. E. V., I.C.S.		
Aubert, L., B.A., B.Sc.		
Aung, Maung Ba.		
Aung, U Myat Tun, C.I.E., K.S.M., T.D.M.		
Aung, U Shwe Zan, B.A.		
Ba, U .. .. .	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Ba, U, B.A.		
Babington, T. Z. D.		
Ba-Ket, Major, I.M.S.		
Baldwin, A. C. J., M.A.		
Ban, Maung Shwe, <i>Bar.-at-Law</i> .. .. .	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Barton, C. S.		
Baw, U Hla.		
Bell, E. N., B.A., I.C.S.		
Bellars, A. E., M.A.		
Best, J. T., M.A.		
Bigg-wither, Major F.		
Bishop, F.		
Blagden, C. Otto .. .. .	..	<i>Corresponding Member.</i>
Boedicker, F. L. F.		
Bridges, J. E. .. .. .	..	<i>Corresponding Member.</i>
Brown, H. A., B.A., I.C.S.		
Brown, R. R., B.A., I.C.S.		
Brown, G. E. R. Grant, I.C.S. .. .. .	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Browne, C. E.		
Bu, Maung San Shwe.		
Rurd, Capt. E., I.A.		
Butler, Sir Harcourt, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. .. .. .	..	<i>Patron.</i>
Bye, U Po, K.S.M. .. .. .	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Byu, U Po.		
Cameron, C. J. N., I.C.V.D.		
Cardot, Rt. Rev. Bishop A.		
Carr, W., I.C.S. .. .. .	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Cassim, A., B.A.		
Casson, R., B.A., I.C.S.		
Chan, Htoon.		
Chit, U Po, A.T.M. .. .. .	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Circar, Dr.		
Clague, J. B.A., I.C.S.		
Clayton, H., M.A., I.C.S.		
Cochrane, R. A. .. .. .	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Cooper, C. R. P., B.A., I.C.S.		
Cooper, W. G.		

Couper, T., M.A., I.C.S...	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Covernton, J. G., M.A., I.C.S.			
Craig, T.			
Cuffe, Lady	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Cummings, Rev. Dr. J. E., M.A., D.D.			
Darwood, J. W.			
Davis, C. K.			
Dawson, L., <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
deSilva, Thos. P.			
Dewes, Lt.-Col. F. J.			
Din, U Min, T.D.M.			
Do, U Tha Ka, K.S.M.			
Douglas, Prof. W., M.A., B.P.H., B.D.			
Drysdale, Rev. J. A., M.A.			
Dun, Maung Ba, <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Dun, Maung Aung.			
Dun, U Kyaw, K.S.M.			
Dunn, C. W., B.A., I.C.S.			
Duroiselle, Chas.			
E, U Ba, B.A.			
E, Khoo Soo.			
Enriquez, Capt. C. M. D.			
Farmer, E. J., I.C.S.			
Fogarty, P. C., B.A., I.C.S.			
Fraser, J. D., I.C.S.			
Fraser, Prof. W. G., M.A.			
Furnivall, J. S., B.A., I.C.S.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Fyffe, The Rt. Rev. Bishop R. S.			
Gale, U Maung.			
Gilmore, Rev. D. C.			
Gordon, D. M.,	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Grant, C. F., M.A., I.C.S.			
Grantham, S. G., B.A., I.C.S.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Grose, F. S.			
Gywe, U Tha, <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Habgood, J. C.			
Halliday, Rev. R.	..	..	.. <i>Corresponding Member.</i>
Hamlin, Lieut., A. E.			
Han, Maung Ba, M.A.			
Han, Mg. Thein.			
Harvey, G., I.C.S.			
Hertz, W. A., C.S.I., F.R.G.S.			
Hla, Maung Aung, B.A.			
Hla, Maung Kyaw San.			
Hlaing, Maung Po.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Holme, H. B., B.A., I.C.S.			
Houldey, J. E., B.A., I.C.S.			
Hpay, U, K.S.M., A.T.M.			

Hunter, M., M.A., C.I.E.
 Jones, B. M.
 Jones, H.
 Keith, A. D., B.A., M.R.A.S., *Bar.-at-Law*.
 Keith, The Hon'ble Mr. W. J., M.A., I.C.S.
 Khalak, A.
 Kin, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Maung, *Bar.-at-Law*.
 Kin, U Thein, A.T.M., B.A., F.C.S.
 Ko, Taw Sein, C.I.E. *Life Member*.
 Kumeran, Dr. P. J.
 Kun, Maung, *Bar.-at-Law*.
 Kyaw, Maung Ba.
 Kyaw, Maung Ba, K.S.M.
 Kyu, U Po, A.T.M., K.S.M.
 Lack, Capt. L. H. A., I.M.S. *Life Member*.
 Leach, F. B., B.A., I.C.S.
 Lewishon, F., M.A., I.C.S.
 Lightfoot, S. St. C.
 List, J. N.
 Lord, Major H. P. M.
 Luce, Prof. G. H., B.A.
 McCallum, J. L., I.C.S. *Life Member*.
 McColl, H. E., I.C.S.
 McDowall, R. G., M.A., I.C.S.
 McKenna, J., M.A., I.C.S.
 Mackenzie, J. C., M.A., I.C.S.
 Maung, Maung, (5)
 Maung, Maung Kin.
 Maung, Maung Thein, M.A., LL.B., *Bar.-at-Law*.
 Maung, Maung Thein.. .. . *Life Member*.
 Maung, Maung Chit.
 Me, U, K.S.M. *Life Member*.
 Metteyya, Bhikkhu Annanda.
 Min, U Kyaw, B.A.
 Moore, H. C., B.A., I.C.S.
 Morris, A. P., B.Sc.
 Mye, U.
 Nariman, G. K.
 Nepean, N. St. V.
 Nolan, J. J.
 Nu, Dr. U Tha.
 Nyein, U Tun, I.S.O. *Life Member*.
 Ommaney, J. L.
 On, Maung Po, B.A.
 Ormiston, Lieut.-Col. T. L., M.A., *Bar.-at-Law*, ~~I.A.~~
 Oung, U May, M.A., LL.B., *Bar.-at-Law*.
 Page, A. J., B.A., I.C.S.
 Pe, Maung Tun.

Pedley, Dr. T. F.				
Pennell, C. S., M.A., I.C.S.	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Perkins, B. W., B.A., I.C.S.				
Perroy, The Very Rev. Father				
Powell-Brown, Mrs. E. M.				
Pridmore, Lieut.-Col. W. G., C.M.G., I.M.S.				
Prothero, Capt. J. E. D., I.A.				
Rhi, Maung Kyaw Sa.				
Rice, The Hon'ble Mr. W. F., I.C.S.				
Roberts, Major A. B.	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Robertson, L. C.				
Rodger, A.				
Ross, Dr. G. R. T., M.A., D.PHL.				
Rost, Lieut.-Col. E. R., I.M.S.				
Rutledge, J. G., M.A., <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>				
Sa, U Po, I.S.O., K.S.M.				
St. Guily, The Very Rev. Father				
Salaraks, Khun Phraisom.				
Saunders, L. H., I.C.S.				
Saw, H. Po, B.A.				
Seeley, Rev. G. H.				
Seppings, E. H.	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Set, Maung, B.A.				
Sewell, Major J. H.				
Shaw, John.				
Shein, Maung Tun, B.A.				
Sherratt, Rev. W.				
Silvanus, D. H. M.				
Sin, Maung Po (2).				
Smart, R. B.				
Smith, Rev. J. F.				
Smyth, W. J., B.A., I.C.S.				
Snow, C. A., M.A.				
So, Maung Ba.				
Stevens, T. H. G.				
Stewart, J. A., M.A., I.C.S.				
Stuart, J.				
Swan, Maung Boon	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Swinhoe, R.				
Swithbank, B. W., I.C.S.				
Symns, J. M., M.A.	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Taylor, L. F., B.A.	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Teachers' Association, Anglo-Vernacular High School, Prome.				
Teik, Saw Tun, B.A.				
Temple, Sir Richard	..	..	...	<i>Corresponding Member.</i>
Teong, Taw Sone.				
Tha, Maung Ba, B.A.				
Than, Maung Po, A.T.M.				

Than, Maung Aung, B.A.			
Thein, Saya	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Thoung, U Po, K.S.M., B.C.E.			
Tin, Prof. Maung, M.A.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Tin, U, A.T.M.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Tripp, L. M. G.			
Tun, Dr. Aung, B.A., CH.B.			
Twomey, The Hon'ble Sir Daniel H. R.			
U, Maung Tha Zan, B.A., B.L.			
U, U Tun.			
Wallace, W. V. I.C.S.			
Wallaston, The Hon'ble Mr. C. H.			
Ward, Prof. K. M., B.A.			
Webb, The Hon'ble Mr. C. M.			
Wedderspoon, W. G., M.A., LL.B.			
White, Sir Herbert Thirkell	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Williams, Lieut.-Col. C. E., I.M.S.			
Wilson, J. C. C.			
Win, Maung Tun (1).			
Wright, J. M., B.A., I.C.S.			
Ya, Maung Tun, A.T.M.			
Yain, L. A., <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Yon, U Kyin, K.S.M.			
Zan, Maung Kyaw.			

MON WEDDING SPEECHES AND RITUAL.

I was present at a marriage in a Mon village on the Menam just below Ayuthia a few years ago and subsequently obtained copies of the speeches and the ritual used by the elder who officiates at the actual marriage ceremony. Happening to see an old couple going off to the wedding I asked if I might accompany them and was told I should be welcome. It was to the bride's house we went and there we found a goodly company assembled, the men in the inner room and the women in the outer part of the house. In front of the house some people were busy making an arch adorned with coloured cloths and having a bar of cane across the entrance. On asking what they were doing I was told they were guarding the city gate and that no stranger would be allowed to enter without proper credentials or having paid his footing. When the bridegroom's party came along soon after from a different part of the village carrying their things, they were stopped here and put to question. I cannot say now whether this corresponded altogether with the written speeches or not, but it was certainly along similar lines. After this show of opposition the men handed over a tical to the gate keepers and then on further parley the women of the party also gave a tical. There was some further show of opposition at the top of the stairs, where the bridegroom himself was stopped by a gold neck chain held across the stair between two persons, but the whole party was eventually admitted to the house with their goods.¹

Trays of cakes and fruit twenty-five in number were arranged in a double row along the length of the inner room. These had apparently been carried in and laid down at random except that two with stands and covers topped the rows at one end. Two old ladies entering re-arranged them and sprinkled all with perfumed water. They then covered all with two loin cloths spread out full length. Next beginning from the lower end they commenced to roll up the cloths taking something out of each tray as they passed over. This operation was styled casting a net and they afterwards handed round the proceeds of their catch. The contents of one row of trays were now poured into the trays of the other row. Some one made to put the empty trays one on top of the other but this was not allowed. After the contents of the trays had been distributed amongst the guests, the trays were piled one on another. Two trays with selections of the different dainties were reserved for each side, and one was given to the strangers. Last of all the betel leaf, nut and tobacco were distributed. The floor was then cleared for the marriage ceremony. The bride and bridegroom came in attended by friends. They first did obeisance to the old man who officiated. Then apparently instructed by him they bowed their heads whilst he repeated what seemed to me at the time a mantra ending with *sādhu, sādhu*, the noise

¹ At a Christian marriage in the same village some months ago when I myself officiated the same kind of by-play took place at the top of the stair when the bridegroom arrived accompanied by his friends. A gold neck chain barred the way until satisfaction had been given. The people stopping the party seemed just to say what occurred to them and the bridegroom and his friends being Siamese it was all in Siamese. Again on a coin or two being handed over the party was admitted.

was so great that it was impossible to hear what he was saying from where I sat. The bride and bridegroom now placed their right hands one on top of the other with palms upward and the old man pronounced a wish or blessing making the pair man and wife whilst pouring water on their hands from a little drinking cup all the time. Mon was the language used here, though the noise was so great, that it was impossible for one to follow.² At this stage too some one was burning chillies under the house which caused almost every one to cough. This was apparently part of the entertainment.

On my way down river I called on a scholarly monk to whom I had been previously introduced by the librarian at the National Library, Bangkok. I told him of the marriage I had seen and of my interest in all that pertained to it. He was disposed to help me in any enquiries on the matter and at once sent to the village for a man who on hearing what I wanted, repeated to me the speeches which were used on such occasions. On asking him where he got it all he said he had committed it to memory. But I said, "Have you not got a book of some kind where one can have a look at them?" He replied that he had, and on the monk requesting him to bring it and show me, he went home for a small palm-leaf manuscript which he handed to me to examine. I then got my Mon assistant to make a copy both of the speeches and of the marriage ritual. I read them at the time, and saw the general purport, but did not make a thorough study till lately, when on the previous advice of Mr. Blagden, I decided to prepare them for the B. R. S. Journal.

I have no doubt that the whole thing originated in Burma and was brought over by the forefathers of the present day Mons of Siam. I have, however, seen only one actual Burmese word, *ဒုင်ဂါန့်* for *ထုံခဲ* occurring at one place for the usual *ပြဝေဏီ* or *သွံပြဝေဏီ*. There are on the other hand many Siamese words and phrases as well as allusions which show that the speeches have been greatly changed especially in some parts since they were brought over here. Many years ago when I had been only a few years in Burma I attended a wedding in Ye, Amherst District where similar speeches were made by two men representing the bride and bridegroom respectively. I have no doubt now that they were using their version of the same set of speeches handed down from their ancestors. In this case, however, the speeches were spoken inside the house after the bridegroom's party had arrived and all were seated on the floor, the men on one side and the women on the other, the speakers facing each other from opposite ends of the two rows of vessels containing presents and arranged in the centre of the room. The speeches as here given show that they are intended to begin on arrival of the bridegroom's party outside the house. The newcomers are first addressed as sitting on the ground holding their baskets and other articles. It is not till the third speech on the bride's side that the groom's party are found making their way up the stair into the house, and even then members of the party are still coming on.

² I have given this account in the words of a note written at the time to show how it appeared to a stranger.

On the first casual reading of my copy of the manuscript I made a few corrections in spelling, which I set down at the time to slips of my copyist, but on looking at it more critically I have found quite a number of places where I have had to make more considerable alterations even to changing a whole word so as to get some meaning out of the thing. There are spellings too which represent colloquial pronunciation and these I have usually left standing. It is evident to me that these speeches have been committed to memory and handed on from one to another and that when they were written they were simply set down as the writers had learned them. I feel sure that there were words and phrases sometimes that were not understood at all. I have not thought it necessary always to indicate these changes, but I have made them very carefully and usually with the concurrence of native scholars. I have found a number of places where I can get no help from these friends and these will be indicated in footnotes on the translation.

R. HALLIDAY.

လိက်သွာန်ကောန်။

ရှုလျှင်နတ်တံကျင်းရှုရှင် ရှုရားဟာ။ ကျိုင်းကျပ်မြိတ်မြိတ်ကို သိုကြံယူဟာ။ ရှုဝယားပြယ်ထိုပ်ဟိုပ် ကျင်းစိပ်ထာန်ပိုဝံ့ကွာ။ ရှိဟ်ဂိတုရှိဟ်တွဲ ပိုဟံ့ညာတ်ဝွဲဝါ။ မူပွိက်ကိစ္စဥန်စိပ်သန္တာန်ပိုဝံ့ကွာ။ ပို သ္မာန်သိုမေတ္တာ ဖါလျှ်ညးအာကျင်း။ မူပွိက်ကိစ္စရောကောပိုညးကျင်း။ တိချီတိုက်ခတ်ကိပ်မာ ကွပ်ကျင်း။ ဩဩမြဲမြဲဩဩကျင်းတတ်မွဲမုၚ်။ ယာတ်ပိုယာတ်စက်ကျိုင်းထိုင်နရေင်လပ်။ ဂဏ်ခွံင်စါစါ သ္မာန်ညိုင် အဋ္ဌာန်သိုစုဗျာ။ လှိုၚ်ပိုက်ယာတ္တိမုၚ်ညး ဗျာဓိဂတကွာ။ ဩဩမြဲမြဲကျင်းမံင်တတရေင် မုၚ်။ စိပ်သိုဂဏ်ဂြိုဟ်ကသေဟိုမံင်သာသာ။ လှိုၚ်မုၚ်မုၚ်မတ်ကွတ်ရံင်ပိုကွာ။ လှိုၚ်မိန်သင်နအဇ ညိုင်ညးသိုစုဗျာ။ လှိုၚ်ဂြိုဟ်ကျင်းဟံ့ညိုင်ညးစံနွာ။ ဟံ့သေင်တိုင်တရ်လုတ်သွားဟာ။ ဟိုတ်ဟံ့ သေင်ပြောင်လံဩဩဤအာတ်စပိုင်တာ။ ညာတ်သိုပသာလာလုတ်လူဟာနတ်တံ။ မူပွိက်ကိစ္စဩဩကျင်းစိပ် သိုပိုဏ်။ ဟိုဒးဝံ့မံင်ထံဝံ့ဂဏ်တန်တံ။ ယင်ဟိုဟံ့ဒးအံင်ကောင်စံလေ်ပြယ်ပြယ်။ မံင်ထံတိုက်ကွာတံ ဤလောင်။ ပိုင်သ္မဟံ့ဝံ့ရောင်ဒးသောင်စံရှင်ဝံ့။ ယင်ကောပိုဟိုဒးရပိုင်သ္မစုတ်ကွဲလပ်။ ဝံ့ဒက်မိတ် ဆက္ကပ်ဆက်တင်အာပွဲဂတ။

မူဟိုတ်ပွဲက်ကိစ္စဟိုရ်ကော့ပို။ သီဝီတိသောမ္မဟိတြဟိတ္တဝေမေတ္တာ။ အတိက်ဒါနိတဉာဏောနိ ပိုစါဝံအံ။ ဂွံဟဲဟဲဇာနိတ္တပုဏ်ကျာ်ဝေသင်။ ဒါနိအတိက်တေရိဗင်ကုသိုရ်တုင်။ ပိုအံလျာ်ဃူင် တုင်တ္တိဒြဗန္ဓဿ။ ပူဂိုဓါဝံရာဇနာကုသိုပြေင်။ သက်ကျင်ကောံပရေင်လွေင်ဓမ္မတာသတ်။ ဒြဟိုနိဝုတ် ဗွဲသွတ်ဟံဆောတ်သိုညးစါ။ အာတ်ဟါနိမိက္ခီမံ။ ဒးသွာန်သျှက်ကလိတ်ခေင်တုင် အာယဝ်ဂွိုင် ကိုဝါရ။ ဣြက်မိုတ်ဒးမတ်ကွာကော့ညးစါတလ။ ဖျေဟ်လဝ်မှတ်စါရဗြိစစဉ္စာသုတူ။ ရံင်ဂိတုတွဲ ခိုတ်ဃူင်မတ်ဏာတ်ဝံကျင်အာ။ မိုတ်ကျင်အခင်အခါ နုကျတ်ဒးကာလ။ ဒိတ္တိ နုကျတ်ပြိဂိတုတွဲ လေသ့ဝံပြ။ လွေင်ဃူင်လွေင်တရ်လွေင်ခွေတ်ဗင်ကိလ။ ဟိုပွိုင်ကော့ဂမ္ဘိုင်နံမြိုင်သိုဝေါင်သ။ ရိုင်ရိုင်ဃူ ဃူကသီကျင်ဝါနိဇ္ဇ။ ကျိုင်ကျပ်ဒးရးရတုပ်အဇာညိညးရှင်။ လွှါရန်လွှါစေ့တုင်ဗွဲကျင်ညိညး အာပေါ။ မိုပ်သွိကော့အံကွာ်သဲတိုန်ကျင်။ လွှါယိုက်ဒ်မါနိလွှါခါနိမှတ်။ လွှါမိုက်ပုံစက်လွှါမွတ် ယာတ်သို။ ကျိုင်ကျပ်ညိကောန်ဗြိဃူသွိ မိပ်အဏံ။ ယာတ်ကြာသိုသိုဝ်ထပ်စွံရေင်လဝ်ကိဒေ။

³ There is apparently an omission here, presumably before အာတ်

ဇမ္ဗူသွတ်ဟူ၍ ကွဲကလံစိုင်းခါသီ။ ထိုင်သောပြင်ဝဏ္ဏီညီသာကိုလှည့်၍ ဆက်ဆန်နှစ်အခါနိမိတ်ဂ
လာန်မကိုလ။ မန်မိုင်မန်ဒကောမန်ညဘာသာရ။ ပြင်ဝဏ္ဏီမန်မိကိုပုံအင်္ဂါနုမူလှ။ ဆက်ကျင်နှုတ်ကံ၌မြို့
ထ၌ကွဲကွဲမ။ ကြဲကွဲကွဲ၌ပွန်ရာဇာသါမန္တ။ ထင်၏နုမူလှည့်ကွဲကွဲမပေ။ ခြံကျင်နှစ်အဆက်သွက်ကြ
ကတ်ဝါဟ။ ကောန်ဗွဲပိုမိုရသွက် ကျင်ပဂမာန်။ ဝံ့ဗွဲကောအခါနိမိတ်တင်အာမွဲဂတာ။ ကိုသေ့ပိုင်
ကောန်ကလောန်ဥဂကမိကိုမ။ လွှဲပိုင်ဝါဟတိတ်ထွတ်ထွတ်။ ပိုပိုင်မြို့ပိုင်သွိမိမေစါရောင်အ။

ယုံလေကောဂမ္ဘိုင်နံမြိုင်သိုတြိမြ။ လွှဲလေဗျိုင်လွှဲလေရဲလွှဲလေဒေတ်ဗကိုလ။ ဒေရဲမိုင်ကိုရဲ
တေတ်ကျင်ပဂမာန်။ အတိုင်သောပြင်ဝဏ္ဏီညီသာမိုင်ကိုလှည့်၍။ အရေရဲနွဲ့ပိုဒေသွန်ဂလာန်နွဲ့ပိုဒေဟို။
လျှိုင်ရဲလေကောမြို့ကျင်နှစ်ပိုင်မိုင်သွိ။ နုတ်သွိကွဲပဂမာန်အာတ်ပါနိမိုင်မကိုမိ။ ပွဲကိုကောန်
ပိုမိဒ်မိုင်စါပိပန်။ ကောန်လျှိုင်ရဲလေပိုဟွတ်ထွတ်ထွတ်ရောင်ပိုသောဝံ့တိသန်။ လျှိုင်နုတ်ကျင်သွန်
ပဂမာန်ကိုဒင်ကလောန်။ ဝံ့ဒင်ယုံအိဝံ့လေဝါတ်လောန်ကောန်လျှိုင်ရဲလေဟွတ်ထွတ်။ အရေရဲ၌၌
ပိုက်ဝါတ်မိုင်မြိုင်ကွဲညာတ်ဆီ။ သင်ဝံ့အရေရဲဗကိုလဒေရဲပိုင်သွိ။ တိတ်ဒင်ယုံအိရောဒေတ်
မတ်ဒွဲ။ ညိုင်မတ်မြို့ပတ်နုတ်မတ် နုတ်တေတ်ပြဒေ။ မာတ်ကောန်ပို ခြံကွဲတိမိုတ် သေ့ရောဟွတ်မာန်။
ကောန်လျှိုင်ရောနုတ်သွိကွဲသွက်။ ကောန်လျှိုင်ရောနုတ်သွိကွဲသွက်သွက်ဒါန်။ မူယမူယမာယုံဒေမြို့မိဒေ
မြိုင်ကိုဟိုဒေရဲဒုန်။ ပိုတိတ်ရောင်ပိုပဂမာန်ဝံ့ ဆက်တင်အာမွဲဂတာ။ ပွဲဒေဝါပူရဲသာဂြိုင်ဟိုစရ
ကောမြို့။

ထိုင်ကောဂမ္ဘိုင်ကွဲပင်မိုင်ရဲကောမြို့။ အတိုင်ဒေတ်ဗကိုလဗျိုင်ဆက်ကျင်နှုတ်ကွဲ။ ရိုင်စကို
ဟောရာအစါတံဟိုင်ကွဲ။ ဒိတ္တိနုတ်ကွဲဟိုကွဲသက္ကရာဇ်။ ပါပဟွတ်ညာတ်သာမူ ဓါတ်ဝံ့ညီသာ။
မိုက်လက်စက်ဂတာအစါတံဝံ့တားရိုင်။ ကွဲလောတ် မိန္ဒေါတ်တိုင်ရိုင်စ။ ဗက်ပွဲပွဲဥာဇတာနီဒါန်ရ။
ဒေဇါတ်သွိကွဲဝံ့ဂတာပတာ။ ရန် ဟိုပွဲပွဲနုတ်ရိုင်စက်ဂတာ။ ညိုင်အိန်ကို သုဇတာ ဟောရာဟို
လရဲ။ ဝံ့ပြိုင်ဝါဟမိုတ်စသိုညးစါ။ ပိုပိုင်မြို့ပိုင်ကွဲတိုင်မိမေစါရောင်အ။

မိုက်ဂမ္ဘိုင်ဟိုကွဲပိုလေဟွတ်ညာတ်ကွဲဝါ။ ဇက်ဒိုကဟိုရဲနုတ်ဟေးကွဲနုတ်ကွဲ။ မိုက်လက်ကွဲနုတ်
လုပ်သိုတြိမြို့ဗျိုင်။ ကွဲပိုင်စကောဗျိုင်ညိုင် ညးမသင်သုရာ။ မိုက်ပိုဟိုဆေတာဒေသ မိုင်တန်ကိုတန်။
လျှိုင်ယိုက်နုတ်ကမန်မိုင်ပိုင်သွိ။ ခါရိုင်စေတ်မိတ်ဒိုမိုတ်စါပိဗျိုင်။ လျှိုင်ကွဲအာလျှိုင်ကွဲကျင်ရပ်
ဒင်သိုလေကွဲ။ လဟိုတြိတြိညာတ်မြတ်ဒိုညိုင်လတ်လောင့်။ ကျင်ပညိုင်ဒေဗျိုင်သွက်မတ်ဒိုပိုင်
ပျိုင်။ မူပိုင်ကိစ္စသွဲ ဟိုဒေဝံ့ဗျိုင်လောင့်။ လက်ဟိုဟွတ်ဒေဗျိုင်ပိုင်ထာမွဲရောင်။ သွက်လျှိုင်ဆိုင်
ဟိုနုတ်ဒေအာတ်အာသန်စါသေင်။ ဗေတ်နုတ်ဒေလောင့်လုပ်ထာမွဲရောင်ကွဲ။ အပေါတ်ထိုင်နုတ်
ဒေဒါဒါနုတ်ဗျိုင်။ ပအောန်မိုတ်ညီကေး အရေရဲဒိုပိုဒေဟိုလရဲ။ ကောတ်သွိကွဲဂါသင် လင်သတ်ပိုင်
ဗာတ်။ ကောန်ဗွဲနုတ်ကွဲဒိုပြိုင်ပိုဟွတ်ညာတ်။ ဗေတ်ဒိုမိုတ်ဗေတ်ဝါတ် ဂါတ်ဟိုဟွတ်မာန်။ စပွဲ
ဘုတ်သေ့ဒိုဘာသင်သုရာကွဲပိုင်သွန်။ ပဟိုကွဲနုတ်ကိုလှည့်ပိုဒေဟိုကွဲလရဲ။ သေ့နုတ်ကောန်မြို့ဗက်ဟို
ဆက္ကပ်။ ခါရဲနုတ်တံနုတ်မိုတ်ဒင် လျှိုင်ပိုဝံ့တိတ်ပိုင်လရဲ။ လျှိုင်ဟွတ်ဆက္ကပ်ပိုကျင်တသင်ပါန်။ ပိုဟွတ်
ဒင်ထဲရဟွတ်ပင် ပကောန်ဂမာန်။ ဗွဲကြဲဒေ ထဲကြာန်ဂလာန်ရဲကွဲမိုင်ကွဲ။ မိုတ်လုပ်သေ့ခါဗျိုင်ပိုဒေဟို
တာလင်အရေရဲရောင်။

ထိုင်ကောဂမ္ဘိုင်ကွဲပင်မိုင်ဟိုကိုရောင်။ ကွဲညးဂြိုဟေင်ခလေညးဒေထာတ်။ ဆုထစေဝံ့ညး
ဂြိုဟေတ်မာတ်ထဲသုန်နုတ်ကွဲဟ်။ ပထသုန်ထဲညးဗက်ကိုဝံ့ ဒေဒါခွဲဝါသဟ်။ အကြိုကောန်ပိုဂြိုဟေတ်ကိုနုတ်
တံကွဲ။ ရုပ်သင်စရဲကွဲကွဲညးညာတ်ဒေမေတ္တာ။ ခွဲညးညာတ်သွိကွဲပဂမာန်ကျင်သွန်မိုင်ဂြိုင်ကို
ဝါ။ အရက်ဒါနုတ်ကွဲဗျိုင်လောင့်သေ့ဟွတ်။ ဟိုဂြိုင်ညိုင်ခသွန်ဗျိုင်သွန်ဝံ့တိတ်ရ။ ကောန်ဗျိုင်ကွဲ
မြက်စာလောတဂြိုင်ကိုသင်။ ဟိုတ်ဒေသွန်ကျင်သွိကွဲပဂမာန်တိုင်။ ပိုတိတ်ဒင်လျှိုင်လွတ်
ပိုင်ညီရအ။

ထိုင်ကောဂမ္ဘိုင်ကွဲပင်သိုကောမြို့။ အရေရဲနွဲ့ပိုဒေသွန်ဂလာန်နွဲ့ပိုဒေဟို။ ကောန်ဗွဲနုတ်
ကိုဒိုပြိုင်လေပိုဟွတ်ညာတ်။ သေ့ဗျိုင်ကောမိုင်ကိုမိတ်ဒိုသေ့လေဟွတ်ဒိုမိုတ်ဗေတ်။ နုတ်ဟိုလျှိုင်ညးဂြို
ရောဟွတ်အာညာတ်။ သေ့သွတ်ဗေတ်မိုင်ဗာတ်သေ့ဒိုဗိန်လမာတ်။ ကောန်ပိုရောဟွတ်မိုက်ကွဲတိုင်သေင်

ထံင်ကြွပ်ကွပ်ကွပ်ပင်မိုင်ရကော့ပို။ ထိုင်ဒ်ယုတ္တိကိုသွန်ပိုဒ်ဖေဟိုရ။ အကြိုကောန်တြို
ကွာတ္တိုဒ်ပိုသမိုင်တြိုယံမိမစါ။ နူကောန်ပိုကွပ်မိုတ်ဟိုသန္တိကိုပိုနိဟာန်ကွာ။ ဒွေအာဒ်ညိုင်ကိုက
သပ်ချပ်ဂွန်စွဲကောန်စ။ သွေဟ်သွဟ်စုခဲကွိုန်ညိုင်ကိုဒ်ကွိုန်မတိုန်ရ။ ကောန်ပိုသွေနွံဂပ်နင်
ကြကတ်မြမောင်ကွပ်မိကိုမ။ ဒိုတ်ညွံပြိုင်စုရစွဲခကေခဲဒ်ကွပ်။ ဒွေအာဒ်ညိုင်ဟိုရင်ညးညာတ်
မေတ္တာ။ ညာတ်မုက်ဒ်ဆာန်ညွိုင်ဟိုတ်ကိုပိုင်သွ။ စွေတိုန်ညိုင်ကွာကိုတ်စိုဒ်ဘာ။ ကတ်ကိုအစါ
တံရ။ ချူကော်ကတ်ဂွန်ဗွေန်နမူကေ။ ခါအယုက်ပေင်စါခဲသွဲဂရုကိုပခမ္မီဒ်ပယျင်။ စွေရော်ဂုန်မိ
မစါလှေဝ်တုန်ကွာ။ သုပတ်ဒ်ပွေန်ဟ်ကွပ်ဟ်ကွပ်ပိုင်။ ဟာတ်လပ်ကွတ်ဗွေဟ်ဟ်ကတ်စကွပ်ဖါတ်

TRANSLATION.

ASKING IN MARRIAGE.

Where have you good people come from? Are you from town or country, that you have arrived here so early in the morning with your gay dresses and your furnishings?⁴ We have not always seen it so. On what business have you come to us? We ask out of affection whence have you come? On what business have our friends come? The earth trembles, the streams are troubled as you come and go walking about. Men and women you come in great numbers, arranged in garments of ancient times,⁵ with your baskets and trays ranged in order. You sit two and two together as those who sell bazaar. Some are wearing.....,⁶ and the elders are in front. You are here, men and women in good order. Having arrived at the house you sit whispering together and speaking low, some turning their faces and looking at us furtively; some of you hold baskets in your arms as if wishing to sell. Some wear flowers in the hair as if returning from the kalok dance.⁷ On having missed the road have you just come in to rest? If not are you a family of Lao begging at the monasteries for food and seeing a house are you making it a rest house.⁸ What is your business in coming to our house? If you give a suitable answer, you may be allowed to stay for a while, but if not you must go at once. If you remain too like this, you, friends, will grow hungry and thirsty and will become wearied. You will get nothing to eat and will have to go home famishing. If you make fitting reply we will set out food for you and will surely make friends with you from now on.⁹

We will tell you, good friends, what our business is. With pleasure and satisfaction¹⁰ we will return your friendly advances.¹¹ It was the fortune of our two children in past times to be associated in making garlands and offering them to the Buddha, the Doctrine, and the Brother-

⁴ ကြံယူပါ "furniture, implements, apparatus." In the present instance it is the bridegroom's contribution to the house plenishing as well as to the necessities of the feast. On the occasion described the men of the party carried a lamp, a trunk, a roll of linoleum, and a betel tray, whilst the women carried trays with cakes and biscuits, cocoanuts and plantains.

⁵ ယာတ်ဝိုယာတ်စက်။ I take ဝို to be from Pali porāṇa or Sans. paurāṇa, "relating to past times, ancient." စက် may have reference to checkered patterns of ancient garments. Old garments of checkered patterns brought over from Burma are still used in the kalok dance.

⁶ ယာတ္တိမှ-ယာတ်တမ်မ ယာတ်တမ်မ This is a difficulty. I have quite a list of new names of cloths and garments, but there is nothing anything like this.

⁷ တွာ-တွာ-ကတာ "a pavilion." See Vol. IV, Part II, p. 96 of this Journal for description.

⁸ သာလာ (Pali sālā), the usual name for a rest house in Siam in place of ခြံ (Bur. ဧရပ်) used in Burma.

⁹ ဆက်တင်အာမွဲကတ "going on into the future," တင်အာ seems to me to be a Siamese idiom *taw pai* "in the future."

¹⁰ သောမ္မဟိ (Pali somanassam) satisfaction, enjoyment

¹¹ ဩတိပ္ပဝေဓက္ကံ *lit.* "to practise friendliness."

hood, and former fortune and good deeds bring it about that we are born as human beings. Prayers and good deeds have arranged that these two should roam on and be brought together after the manner of men. They have become young man and maid without fail both of them.....
we respectfully beg of father and mother.¹² We have come and gone many times making request. These two being suited to, and having an attraction for each other, we have brought an earnest and are first distributing the betel leaf. Having looked for an auspicious day and appointed one for coming and going, the time has arrived when the asterism is favourable, the time is excellent and the date is just right. According to the indications and in accordance with the ways and customs of our ancestors, we have called together relatives and friends¹³ and with the family have come in joyous fashion setting aside ordinary pursuits,¹⁴ suitably attired just like people of the city. Some have paddled and some have rowed¹⁵ their boats and have come on just like people going to a festival. Having reached the house of our friends we just walk up. Some carry the metal dishes,¹⁶ some the presents.¹⁷ Some wearing the ancient garments, some the heliotrope costumes, arranged like children of Brahma we have come here in our glad multitude. We have arranged the brocaded cloths, the yellow coloured garments on the trays. With prepared betel leaf and with flowers between our hands we come to do honour to the parents in law. We do it all according to custom as it has been handed down from our ancestors—the custom of the three tribes of Mons, the Mon Duiñ, Mon Da, Mon Nya—the ancient tradition¹⁸ from the beginning, which has come down from the origin of the earth when the seven Bruims became fathers.¹⁹ We must follow the custom²⁰ from of old as it afterwards arose in the case of Rājā-

¹² See note on the text.

¹³ နာမ်မြောက် “friends” here. “Equals” is probably its meaning. I take it ကေုာ် refers to relatives in a general way ဝေါင်းသ to the more immediate family connections and နာမ်မြောက် to friends of the family.

¹⁴ ခြံ (Pali) “agriculture” ဝါနိဇ္ဇ (Pali) “trade.” A friend suggests ခြံကုလင်ဝါနိဇ္ဇ “we have come laying business aside.” ခြံ is required for the rhyme though a vowel can always be changed for that. In the Marriage Ritual the words again occur and are to be taken there as the two Pali words indicated here.

¹⁵ ခေ (Siamese) “to row.” This word is in general use in Siam instead of ပိုင် or more fully ပိုင်ဇွဲကြံ used in Burma. ပိုင် no doubt was the original word here.

¹⁶ ဒံပါနီ (Siamese *tok phān*) metal dishes having a pedestal or foot.

¹⁷ ဝါနိမတ် (Siamese) “the presents carried to the feast.”

¹⁸ ပုံသင်္ဂီ (Pali *porāṇo* and *āgamo*) “ancient learning or tradition.”

¹⁹ မြိမ်သွယ်။ According to the tradition seven inhabitants of the Brahmaloḥas came down to taste of earth and being unable to return took to themselves wives, and so instituted marriage.

²⁰ ထင်ဇာနိ (Bur. ထုံးစံ). This word is in common use by Mons in Burma and here indicates a Burma origin.

Just so good friends and kinsfolks male and female. According to indications and in accordance with the ways and practices of our ancestors, it is fitting that he should come and be a son-in-law. According to custom and in conformity with the tradition we must ask our questions and say our say. Just now you, good friends, have come in goodly numbers and filled the house. You wish [the young man] to be a son-in-law and would entreat the father and mother. We have several daughters and not knowing which you want we cannot well say whether it is fitting. Just now you ask us to take your boy as a son-in-law and give him work, but it is difficult for us to say, "Yes" when we do not know which daughter it is. When one has said too much it is difficult to extricate oneself; when our foot has gone through we see the blood.²³ Thus we must use the words of our ancestors. It is not fitting²⁴ that we should say, 'Yes' before we know right and wrong.²⁵ Just as when the clouds gather the asterisms are dispersed, we cannot tell our daughter's mind until we know which really it is. Which of our daughters do you wish to marry? Which of our daughters do you wish us to give? What is the name of the young maid? The mother of the damsel will then be able to speak as to the fitness of things.²⁶ When we know we shall be able to make [the young man] our son-in-law, and will love him from now on. In the midst of the assembly speak up, good friends.

²¹ **ရာဇာသာမဏိ** This I take to refer to the personage named **သို့မန္တာ** in the ritual; which see.

²² မှင်ကျောန်ကလောန်။ “to take up work.” This is another indication of a Burma origin, the custom there being for the son-in-law to work for his wife's parents and live with them. Mr. Blagden suggests that this is in lieu of the bride price amongst the Malays and the similar practice amongst the Siamese and others. Amongst the Mons in Siam now it seems to be a common thing to ask the young man where possible to lay out the money for a new house, and to pay a sum to the girl's parents. Failing this he goes to the bride's house and lives there and works for the family.

²³ အရေ၍တိုဝှက်ဝါတ်မိ၍တုံ့ပြန်ဘိ။ That is, "Do not make rash promises or be wise only after the event." These are apparently old proverbs which my present day Mon acquaintances often know little about.

²⁴ **ရှေး**|| a fairly common negative form in verse.

²⁵ မုတ်ဗွး fitness and unfitness. မုတ် may be a shortened form of လမုတ် လုတ် with infix မ “to transgress,” “a transgression.” ဗွး from ဖွ “to be right or fit.”

²⁶ The text has been corrupted here I am afraid.

astrologers, and they have given their reading. The lunar day²⁷ and the asterism²⁸ have been associated with the year²⁹ and *pāpa* has not been found; it is *sāmaya*³⁰ and the element is agreeable. The astrologers have cast the horoscope³¹ and having found the quotient have reckoned it up. They have followed the established method of casting the horoscope, and have found that the *Jātaka* of *Smiñ Kasa* who won the consort *Pabhā* fits the circumstances. On the lines of that story they have reckoned the horoscope. It is like the case of *Indra* and *Sujātā*, the astrologers say. It is favourable for both parties that the marriage should be arranged. We have therefore brought our young man to the feet of his father and mother.

We have not ever before seen you thus. Marching a force to raise the country you have reached our village and have done foolishly all you men and women. You are just like a company of intoxicated persons—like drinkers of spirits. Although we have spoken to you and tried to stop you again and again, some of you have carried your baskets and hastened to put them up into the house. When we look down on the ground there are twenty or thirty people. Some are still coming with throwing sticks in their hands, and using harsh cruel words like an old man raging. You come like thieves and robbers looking all about you. If you can tell truly what your business is, you will be far from trouble. But if you cannot give a good account of yourselves, you will be handed over to the authorities. For the bar we have put across to hinder you you must give up two silver pieces. We fear for you getting into trouble and entering into the hands of the authorities. Your baskets

²⁷ ဒိတ္တိ။ This is the word used of the lunar day in astrological reckonings. It apparently agrees with 'tithi' in Mr. De Silva's papers on Burmese Astronomy. See Vol. IV, Part III, pp. 186, 187 of this Journal. These calculations are made from simple formulae given for the purpose. Much of this astrological information is provided in a popular way in the work *Lokasiddhi* written by the prolific Mon author the Monk of Aswo in A. D. 1740, an apparently imperfect edition of which was printed at Paklat, Siam, some years ago. One of the rules given there for the *ditthi* corresponds to the one given by Mr. De Silva in his section on *Karana* pp. 188, 189 though the names given to the remainders differ in some cases. Information is added as to the work to be undertaken at these different times. *Vanijjha* for example is favourable for marriage.

²⁸ နက္ခတ် (Sans. *nakshātra*) a lunar mansion. It is the combination of the *ditthi* and the *nakshatra* that gives the result favourable or unfavourable. There is an example of this in Schmidt's *Mon Rājāwan* pp. 78, 79 where the learned editor has not quite grasped the idea. ဒိတ္တိနက္ခတ်မြတ်ခေတ် means that the date mentioned was to be classed as *mrutdhajuk* which is favourable. Other classifications are unfavourable.

²⁹ သက္ကရာဇ် the year of the common era.

³⁰ ပါပ and သာဓု indicate a division of the days. Sunday, Tuesday, Saturday and Rahu are *pāpa* and to be avoided. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday are *sāmaya* and very favourable.

³¹ ဇိတ်လက်စက်ဂတာ။ ဇိတ် "fortune." လက် "lagna" စက်ဂတာ "a diagram for casting one's horoscope." ဂတာ-ဇတာ (Pali, *jāto*) in Burmese more properly written ဇာတာ။

and vessels would all be taken from you. Do not therefore be offended; we must say what is fitting. You wish to seek a physician, but you only meet with repulsion.³² This young man of yours too, we have not seen what he is like. We fear he may turn out a stubborn fellow to whom it will be difficult to speak. Eating in the temple and sleeping in the monastery he may prove a noisy drinker in the street. Because we have something to say we must speak plainly. Should he prove to be already married we should speak out at once. If therefore you have a person who will stand security we shall come forth and accept him. If, however, you have no security, we respectfully ask leave to refuse consent. We dare not make him a son-in-law. Afterwards when there is trouble, you will draw back from your word. We must then meet the transgressor with the words of opposition.

Open your ears and listen to what we have to say. Who has rounded the Otaheite gooseberry? A carrying pole must be dressed. Who has dressed the rounded tree trunk? When you have taken aim you can throw your sticks.³³ Do not take aim yet, but let us stop to make answer. Let us first tell you about our son. Those who see his handsome form must love him. Where they have seen him they have wished to make him their son-in-law, and have asked many times. Not to mention spirits, opium or card playing, he does not even eat latchā.³⁴ To say more would be like telling untruths. Make enquiry³⁵ and you will know. In his work he is active as a tiger and is very diligent. For this reason we have felt obliged to come and ask that he may become your son-in-law. We have come out to become surety for him. Accept therefore please.

Open your ears, keep silence and listen, good friends. We must put our questions and say what we have to say. We have not seen what your young bachelor is like. He is free from the ten wrongs³⁶ and he is not a violent man you have just said, but who has been to see that it is so? Is he still young and tender? or is he old enough to be a mendi-

³² The first clause of this sentence is as it stood in the text: I have had to alter the second clause to get some sense out of it, but I do not feel sure that I have hit on what was originally intended.

³³ These are more proverbial sayings intended to show the need for explanation.

³⁴ This is a common way of stating a young man's abstinence from the use of intoxicants. လတ္တာ is a partially fermented preparation of glutinous rice, not now I believe permitted in Burma. It is still in use in Siam.

³⁵ ဩဇာသိရ် The first part of this compound is the Siamese word *seup* to investigate. The Mon compound apparently used in the same way is ဘောတိသ္မာန်

³⁶ မိတ္တိ "the ten micchattas" which according to Childers are "wrong view, wrong thoughts, wrong speech, wrong occupation, wrong life, wrong exertion, wrong recollection, wrong meditation, wrong knowledge, wrong emancipation." An old monk friend gives another list:—"disobedience to Buddha, Pratyekabuddha, saints, monks, benefactors, teachers, failure in duties toward wife or husband, disobedience to mother, father and religious teacher."

cant?³⁷ Our daughter has no razor yet and to shave the head of your son so that he might be a monk and be ordained and practice reading the law from the pulpit³⁸ would be a difficulty. You also may be telling stories, and only by seeing him can we know that he is according³⁹ to what you say. Let us know what are his year, his month, his day, what are the particulars of his birth time before we assemble. Are the circumstances suitable?⁴⁰ How do the astrologers read them? Just now you, good friends come in numbers filling the house. In order that you may make [your boy] a son-in-law you come to ask the parents. When the youth was born what was it that guarded the earth? Was it in the year of the rat?⁴¹ or the year of the ox? or the year of the serpent, the venomous snake? What indeed guarded the earth at his birth? What jātaka falls to the time? What was the tree at which refuge was taken? Do not just say what is easy. There is not simply a single way of things. Just by coming near and making friends we shall enjoy the benefit of your son till old age. Because of this we ask strictly whether the birth-days are friendly or inimical.⁴² What is the diṭṭhi? Does the Nakshatra see with one eye or with two?⁴³ Taking down the names of these two persons are they found agreeable on the four continents?⁴⁴ How do the astrologers reckon it? Do these two stand on one continent? What ever you find it, good friends, speak out. Just now you come in numbers and are like ospreys seeking for fish. I have pity on the women. They

³⁷ လမာတိ။ This term is applied to men who separate themselves from family life and go to live at the monastery. They keep the first eight of the ten sikkhapadas. Women are called မိမိနိ။ They are usually elderly persons.

³⁸ တူပုင်ခေင်ဝံတိုန်တာတိ။ တာတိ is Siamese *hāt* "to practise, to exercise."

³⁹ တဝံ Siamese taking the place of တိုင်း။

⁴⁰ အာဝိဒ်မိင်ရတာ။ This question refers to the harmony between the birth particulars of the two parties.

⁴¹ ဝိဆောတိ။ ဝိ is the Siamese *pī* "year" and this and the two following year names are Siamese. The questions here apparently follow Siamese methods. Whilst a twelve year cycle is also recognised in Burma it is not usual to speak of year names. Monks in Siam always refer to the Siamese year name when giving their age, whereas in Burma only the *sakkarāj* (year of the common era) is named.

⁴³ နဝံမိတ်တာနဝံသဏ္ဍ။ Sunday is friendly with Thursday, Monday with Wednesday, Tuesday with Friday, Rahu with Saturday, Enemy days Sunday and Tuesday, Monday and Thursday, Friday and Saturday, Wednesday and Rahu.

⁴² The 27 Nakshatras are divided into three classes, 12 being classed as seeing with two eyes, 6 as blind in two eyes, and the remaining 9 as seeing with one eye and blind in one eye.

⁴⁴ ဣပဒ် "the four great islands or continents lying to the north, south, east and west of the great central rock Mt. Meru." The reference here is to a diagram of five squares representing the great central rock and the four surrounding islands. Beginning with က in the central square and going round to the right a consonant is placed on each succeeding square until the whole thirty five are finished. If the initials of the two parties fall on one square or continent it is considered most favourable. If the names fall on two different continents which can be seen from each other it is still considered fairly good. If however Mt. Meru comes between the two, marriage between the two persons would be a calamity.

look as if their stomachs were empty, in the midst of the assembly, dear friends.

Open your ears, be silent, and listen to our words that you may know. Here are the particulars of date and circumstances. It was the year of the rat, the eighth month, on a Saturday, the fifth of the waning moon.⁴⁵ A male deva guarded the earth, and the rat was the guardian of the year. The name of the element was fire and the moon had reached the eighth asterism which sees with both eyes. In that year the Jātaka Smin Naimi fell in, and the place of refuge was the cocoanut tree. Having cast up the horoscope every thing is found favourable. If it is not considered accurate count it over again and let the astrologers reckon it. It is all right our teacher says, do not be downhearted.

We have looked up the particulars friendly or inimical and have seen how they stand on the four continents, and the teachers say that it is favourable for both parties. The maiden daughter of our friends is submissively sweet, and our young bachelor is firm and true. Should they be permitted to live together in one house, is there fault to be found, dear friends? Their good fortune has brought them together has it not? Our two children are just fitted according to the standards. That our boy may become a son-in-law we ask leave of father and mother. We have brought him to your house; therefore take him over for good, dear friends.

Open your ears, be silent, and hearken good friends. This is the laudation of our beloved maid, who had her beginning in her mother's bosom. There is no blemish in her; she is like the queen Visākhā.⁴⁶ They who see her wish to make her a daughter-in-law, and she has been asked five times, yea ten times. From the age of eleven when she had just entered her twelfth year she was skilled in the use of the loom, the winder⁴⁷ and bobbin in every way. The parents had no need to teach their daughter; whatever she saw she was able to do in every particular. At night she does not go out and gather with gossips in other people's houses. In all the duties of women there is no fault to find with her. When she spins out of five spools she gets one garment. The sound of her spinning wheel is not heard like the noise of minas picking the banyan fruit.⁴⁸ Turning the wheel and filling the spool⁴⁹ are one action. I have not ever seen her like. In the lifetime of this child the

⁴⁵ The whole of this sentence is given in Siamese and exhibits the Siamese way of giving a date.

⁴⁶ Visākhā was a noted female saint whose example is quoted on Rammadāyādā. She exemplifies vigour. She had twenty children, 400 grand children and 8000 great-grand children.

⁴⁷ ကွာ။ This is an instrument formed of a piece of wood a foot and a half long with two cross pieces near the ends on which the spun thread is stretched and wound to form it into hanks. It has quite gone out of use now that the yarn is bought in hanks ready to prepare for the loom.

⁴⁸ ညှိပ်ကိုင်ခဲကိစ္စသတ်ဖြူ။ This is a proverbial expression characterising the chatterer.

⁴⁹ ကျွဲဝိုက်ရုံ။ This refers to the quickness of the combined action of pulling out the thread as it is spun and letting in down to wind on the spool.

parents have been freed from labour. Just for what she is the officials like her. They do not take money from us on account of age.⁵⁰ When she goes selling bazaar in the morning before the forenoon meal,⁵¹ her merchandise is not like that of others, her entire capital being but two quarters and one anna.⁵² Her wares are betel leaf and nut put in a basket, tobacco and gum, onions, chillies, fish paste,⁵³ thirty smoked fish,⁵⁴ pla tu⁵⁵ fish, sea crabs⁵⁶.....;⁵⁷ about ten melons,⁵⁸ about ten duck eggs.⁵⁹ Just so much she first uses out of her capital of two quarter rupees and one anna. She has her boat⁶⁰ of four cubits and one fore arm in beam carried down. She then takes down two or three baskets and without going very far⁶¹ soon reaches Samkhok⁶² where people call her and buy as if it were a festival. Before long the boat is full and there is nothing to take back to the city and sell. Using a principal of two quarters of a rupee and one anna she gained five carts⁶³ in profit. Thus our daughter sells bazaar once in a year. One day only our daughter goes to sell, and we are able to live on it till the end of the year. Her parents have no need to be anxious; she sells and puts the proceeds in the granary. We eat away until the end when the time comes round. To speak much about our daughter selling bazaar is like telling falsehoods. Make diligent enquiry of the villagers, dear friends.

Open your ears, listen in silence, hearken, good friends. According to the fitness of things we must speak to your questions. About our

⁵⁰ The idea seems to be that her innate goodness so gains the favour of men in authority that the parents are not obliged either to do forced labour or pay taxes.

⁵¹ ခိုန့်တဲ့ "the second meal hour at the monastery, about eleven in the forenoon."

⁵² ၂၀ "a sixteenth of a rupee." This is another Burma touch. The phrase is not used by Mons in Siam, the Siamese *song pai* "two thirty second parts of a tical" being used instead.

⁵³ ဖြိတ်ခမင် (Bur. ဖမင်းငါးမိ) ခမင် is the correct spelling, but here the colloquial pronunciation is exhibited. The Mons in Siam use the phrase generally of ngapi whether made from the *damin* catch or not.

⁵⁴ ဟူယင် (Siamese) "fish smoked over a fire."

⁵⁵ ဟူတု (Siamese) "Siamese herring."

⁵⁶ ပူခေံ (Siamese, pū khem) "Salt water crabs."

⁵⁷ တသိုကဝဲ This is defective and yields no meaning.

⁵⁸ ဘေင်မောင် (Siamese) "the water melon."

⁵⁹ ခိုလေတ် (Siamese) "duck eggs."

⁶⁰ ဟူလူယေံ Pu-le' is the name given to a smaller kind of boat with a very broad beam much used by hawkers on the waterway of Siam.

⁶¹ ဟ, for ခွေ့ an attempt to give a very common pronunciation of the word. A beginner in Mon is apt to mistake it for ဟ hoü.

⁶² A large Mon village on the Menam about midway between Bangkok and Ayuddya.

⁶³ မသုန်ကွီ This is equal to two hundred and fifty baskets in Burma measurement. A kwi (Siamese kwien) is 100 baskets=50 baskets (Burma).

boy who had his origin in the bosom of his parents. When he was first formed in the womb he began to acquire wealth. Whatever he contrived came to a prosperous conclusion. He increased in riches and honour as the water rises behind a dam. When our boy was born he brought advantage to his parents. Slaves, followers, and cattle came as signs. He was like a blossoming flower and people seeing him loved him. When we saw him we loved him and were never more in want. When he had grown up a bit we took him out and placed him in the monastery. He learned from his teachers to write⁶⁴ and count and to apply himself to books.⁶⁵ When he reached the age of twenty he was ordained and became a monk.⁶⁶ That he might repay the kindness of his parents, he learned to recite the scriptures from the pulpit. He practised every kind of learning and learned many jātakas. When he had been a monk for three rainy seasons⁶⁷ he begged leave of his teacher and returned to family life. Coming home to his parents he nourished them every day. Following the practice of the world he acquired the eight manly accomplishments—boxing, wrestling, the use of the stick Siamese fashion and the dagger.⁶⁸ In the use of all kinds of musical instruments the harp, the violin, the ken, the alligator, dulcimers of different kinds—he is an expert. He has carving, moulding, smithing, too, sculpture and painting. He knows how to sew and make up and to work at all the usual crafts. He is versed in the three vedas, the four vedaṅgas and in arithmetic. He knows completely the causes of diseases and the use of medicines. He has traded in buying and selling sapan wood⁶⁹ and he can hew boats and make carts. He is skilled in all kinds of basketry. Splitting up a joint of bamboo into strips he can make ten mats, nine paddy bins,⁷⁰ twelve rice baskets and seven carrying baskets.⁷¹ He is very skilful in weaving the finer kinds of canework.⁷² In workmanship who can equal him? To say more about our son would be like telling falsehoods.

⁶⁴ ဆူဇေၣ် ဆူ-ဘူ “to write or draw” ဇေၣ် “to use the style on the palm leaf.”

⁶⁵ နမူကခ။ နမူ (Pali namo) more fully နမူဗုဒ္ဓါယ Praise to Buddha which precedes the naming of the letters. ကခ k, kh, the beginning of the consonants.

⁶⁶ ပခဒ္ဓိ “to be a monk” ခုင်ပယျင် “to submit to the upasampadā ordination.”

⁶⁷ ဝဋ် (Pali vassō) “a rainy season a year.” Monks count their years in the Monastery by the number of vassas.

⁶⁸ တက်ဆဲခန့်သွင် The Siamese in their sports on festive occasions have displays of skill in which both sticks and knives are used. I never happened to see anything of the kind in Burma and I take it that the Siamese sport is referred to here.

⁶⁹ A former trade of the Mons on the Meklawng.

⁷⁰ ဂွါင် “a large kind of basket made in varying sizes and smeared over with cow dung to make it air tight.” It is used as an accessory to the granary or takes the place of it for smaller quantities of grain.

⁷¹ ထိုင်ထင်္ဂြာ။ ထိုင် “a basket carried slung over the shoulder by a cord.” ထင်္ဂြာ (Siamese) “an open work basket for washing fish.”

⁷² ရာဇာတွာနိ။ ရာဇာ “royal, kingly.” တွာနိ from တွာနိ “to twill with canes, reeds etc.”

Make diligent enquiry amongst the villagers, dear friends. When our son goes ploughing he drives the buffaloes like a tiger chewing. Yoking the plough in the early morning he can finish ten rai⁷⁸ by midday. With his two hands firm⁷⁴. The upward and downward motions are indistinguishable just like a fowl picking grain on a drying mat.⁷⁵ We have never seen one like our boy, dear sirs, for doing work. In reaping he is most active, doing ten rai in one day. When he brings the grain home to thresh and winnow he has ten kwī and thirty baskets.⁷⁶ He measures it out and puts it in the granary and does not require to work any for seven years. This is the report of our boy and how he works for three days and lives on the results for seven years and does not use up everything. And he is not a good-for-nothing,⁷⁷ smoking opium, drinking spirits and reviling; he does not even eat soured rice. He does not fight cocks, or play for money;⁷⁸ nor does he steal. We come out to be his guarantee against any one coming to dun him for debt or any other matter in the after time. On the day he becomes quarrelsome reprove him when he is obstinate.⁷⁹ When he sets himself against father and mother do not allow him near the house. If he disarranges his dress do not let him come nigh. We are people of standing come out to be his surety, before the multitude in the midst of the relatives. We have come out as his guarantee. Take him to yourselves, good friends.

As to the bride, her name is Mi Thoñ Lai; as to the bridegroom his name is Brān Thau.

These are the words of asking a daughter in marriage.

THE RITUAL.

Okāsa three times. I ask permission of the three gems, of the two parents, the ninety-nine teachers, Mahābrahma the highest who is the beginning, the advanced in age, the advanced in merit, the advanced in virtue, all of the company who have assembled to celebrate a marriage in this place. Let us arrange it according to custom and agreeable to the wishes of the two parents. King Mandhāta set forth the arrangement in the beginning, that persons of good family might increase. Bhadradevi it was shown in ancient times was the origin. The Thera Nevata, the great one, a younger brother of our lord Sāraputta, when

⁷⁸ ရဲ (Siamese) "a land measure less than half an acre."

⁷⁴ This verse seems incomplete and the remaining words give no sense. It is apparently some statement as to the way his hands go in transplanting.

⁷⁵ သွာ "a coarse mat made from bamboo and used for drying paddy in the sun before milling." Haswell gives the colloquial form နှာ

⁷⁶ This is apparently Siamese reckoning and is equal to five hundred and fifteen baskets in Burma.

⁷⁷ လတ်လှိုင် (Siamese *nak leu*) "a bad character."

⁷⁸ ခတ် "a cowrie shell." ခတ်ပဲ "a die; "dice."

⁷⁹ ခိုလှိုင် (Siamese) "to be head-strong."

he was a householder was of the sect of heretics⁸⁰ with his parents and all his people. There was a great feast with thousands of people according to liking and with all due ceremony and a marriage was arranged.

Take a golden tray with incense of sandalwood. Spread on it a white cloth in three even folds and strike the tray three times. Hold the right hands bent and place them the one on the other, the man's above and the woman's below. Put the two hands together and join them. Again put water in a conch shell of the colour of gold. Take *kat*,⁸¹ *rāaijuin*,⁸² musk,⁸³ and sandalwood,⁸⁴ and mix the four with the water. Look and pour on the two; pour the water on the joined hands, from the conch shell cold as wax, repeating this prayer the while:—

O female deva, beautiful earth spirit, come and witness as we perform this Brahman rite.⁸⁵ In the ordinary pursuits of life⁸⁶ may our children prosper in the future in every particular. May their love of the truth and their veneration of the religion grow always. *Ayu vannaṃ sukhaṃ balam*.⁸⁷ May they increase in age and in possessions. May they increase in intelligence, in happiness and in acquirements. May they be famed for wealth and splendour like the wealthy Jotika, having male and female slaves and cattle in abundance. May they be fully equipped like those we hold dear.⁸⁸ May they not miss any of the things for which we have expressed a wish. When they journey on land may the land sustain them. When they journey by water may the water upbear them. When they go amongst enemies may every kind of enmity keep hands off our two children.

⁸⁰ တီ (Sans. tīrthya) "a sectary," "a non-Buddhist."

⁸¹ ကတ် "the plant costus speciosus."

⁸² ရဲခဲနီ The Siamese write it *krisṇa*, apparently a Sanscrit word applied to certain woods. Cartwright defines it "scented wood."

⁸³ ဝရီ In Burmese ကမ္ပိုး I think

⁸⁴ ခုနီ (Pali candanaṃ). This is a case where 'nd' has changed to 'l,' similar to the change from 'nt' to 'l' in ကလပ် (Bur. ကလော်) "a lady," "a wife." Siamese retains the original form in both words *candana*, *kantā*.

⁸⁵ This seems to be the force of ပြင်ပူတံရ "like as the Brahmans [do]."

⁸⁶ ကသီဝါနိဇ္ဇာ See note 14.

⁸⁷ The words which follow are apparently a free translation of this Pali verse.

⁸⁸ သော်ကျိပ်မိ *lit.* "the hair of mother's head," an endearing term.

BUDDHISM AND SCIENCE.

Buddhism has been studied by a line of commentators and sub-commentators as a science with the result that their critical examination has given rise to what is now termed by Occidentals the post-Piṭakan development of Buddhist psychology. It must not, however, be concluded that every thing post-Piṭakan is neo-Buddhism. Buddhist exegetists never departed from the original canonical texts. Their method of procedure is a strict, critical comparison of the different parts of the scripture. That is, they merely apply one part to explain another. And their deductions from the principles contained in some parts are carefully tested and verified by a reference or references to other parts or by deductions therefrom. There is not the slightest hesitation on their part to reject their deductions when they find them opposed to the spirit of their philosophy or when they are not supported by other doctrinal tenets. Thus they have their own rules of criticism which they rigorously apply. They have also adopted a common, uniform code of what may be called commentarial logic by which they meet anticipated objections of imaginary opponents. A knowledge of this code is essential to students or translators so as to distinguish the heterodox from the orthodox views. In this sense, then, I speak of Buddhism as a science in the same way as we may speak of language as a science in the hands of grammarians or philologists, or of education in the hands of educationalists.

A few examples of post-Piṭakan development will suffice to show that Buddhism, unlike Western philosophy, has not been affected by a succession of philosophers.

The Buddha spoke of birth and death, growth and decay, of things as generation (*uppāda*) and dissolution (*bhaṅga*). A set of his followers infers an intervening phase of existence, called duration (*ṭhāti*), between the two states. The author of the *Mūlaṭīkā* criticises this view on the ground that this hypothetical phase is not warranted by the Buddha's Word. The advocates of the view argue that it was not necessary for the Buddha to expressly state it since an intermediate state is always understood between the beginning and the end of any phenomenon.

Here one and the same phenomenon is discussed from two viewpoints. Next, the Buddha spoke of the phenomenon of generation under one term 'birth' (*jāti*). But his followers distinguished the initial (*upacaya*) aspect of it from the continued (*santati*) aspect. The former is confined to the initial phenomenon of generation in a series, while the latter is applied to the subsequent phenomenon of generation in that series. For example, in propagation by cell-division, the *jāti* or birth of the initial cell would be termed *upacaya-jāti*, but the proliferation of later cells would be termed *santati-jāti*. And yet both sets of the phenomena are physiologically the same.

Again, the Buddha, by implication, spoke of sensibles as coming into contact with our organism. The author of the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* made

no distinction whatsoever among the five classes of sensibles. Eight hundred years later Buddhaghosa distinguished light and sound as *asampatta-rūpa* (i.e., material qualities that do not come into contact with organism) and the rest as *sampatta-rūpa*. This distinction was drawn because the objective sources of the former two classes of sensibles do not bodily come into contact with our organism. Still we cannot say that the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* was wrong since the last ether waves of light and the air-waves of sound do reach the eye and the ear respectively.

The Buddha spoke of apprehension or *āvajjana* (lit. turning to objects). But for the clearer understanding of the processes of thought it was necessary for his disciples to distinguish the *pañcadvārāvajjana*, i.e., turning to a sense-stimulus in presentative consciousness, from the *manodvārāvajjana*, i.e., turning to any other object in both presentative and representative consciousness.

When Buddhist students were in doubt as to whether they should insert a moment of *bhavaṅga* or life-continuum after *voṭṭhabbana* or the moment of determination of an object in a process of thought, they referred to the *Paṭṭhāna* where the Buddha said that life-continuum is immediately followed by 'turning' or *āvajjana*. But nowhere did the Buddha say that the reverse is the case. Now, according to Buddhist psychology, the faculty of *manodvārāvajjana*, or turning to objects other than sensibles, performs the function of *voṭṭhabbana* or determining an object in presentative consciousness. Therefore, they decided that life-continuum does not follow the last-named operation of determining.

Again, when they wished to decide the question of the relation of dream to sleep, they argued as follows:—

"To say that dreams occur in sleep would be opposed to the spirit of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, but to say that they occur during waking would be equally opposed to the spirit of the Vinaya Piṭaka. Therefore, dreams occur during the transitional stage from sleep to waking or *vice versa*."

As regards the physical basis of thought, it is clear that the Buddha never adopted the then prevailing and universally accepted theory that the heart was the seat of consciousness. Either he was silent as in the *Dhammasaṅgani* where he should have dwelt at length on the seat of consciousness or he took the trouble of describing the same in so many words as in the *Paṭṭhāna* where he could not possibly avoid the subject. Buddhaghosa adopted the heart-theory, probably from an earlier authority, in order to explain the circumlocutory words of the Buddha. We only require another courageous scholar, like the Yaw Atwinwun, to refute this theory by pointing out that the observed sympathetic affections of the heart by emotions is due to the *pakatūpanissaya*, i.e., the relation of emotion to the heart as a proximate cause, but not to the *missaya*, i.e., the relation of heart to emotion as a basis or seat.

Notwithstanding such examples of the post Piṭakan development, Buddhism of to-day is essentially that of five-and-twenty centuries ago. It is a wonderfully self-consistent system. What appears contradictory at first sight is at least reconcilable by correct interpretation.

The unity of all science consists alone in its method, not in its material. And if one could show that Buddhism and science are alike in method, apart from facts and theories treated of in each, he would be justified in calling the former a scientific system. Carr in his *Philosophy of Change* draws a distinction between philosophical and scientific methods as follows:—

“The distinctive character of this philosophical method is that it apprehends the whole before it apprehends the part and that it interprets the parts as a dissociation within a whole. Science, on the other hand, conceives the whole as an association of its parts.”

We should think that the difference is in principle, not in method. Buddhism, we have seen elsewhere,¹ encourages the study of phenomena by observing the characteristics (*lakkhana*), properties (*sampattirasa*) functions (*kiccarasa*), resulting phenomena (*upatthānākāra-paccuppatthāna*), effects (*phala-paccuppatthāna*) and proximate causes (*padatthāna*) of facts. It assumes the uniformity of nature and employs the Baconian method of induction. Finally, it applies traditional logic to the generalisations arrived at by induction.

A great many principles embodied in Buddhism are, more or less, generalisations which could be arrived at only by induction. For instance, the theory of the ceaseless flux of things is one of the highest generalisations, which has its parallel in its universal application only in Newton's theory of gravitation. The Theory of Karma is another generalisation arrived at by induction probably not in one life but in countless lives of the Buddha. It is difficult to verify this theory unless one practises Jhāna and develops hypermnesia or improved memory of past lives (*pubbenivāsānussati-abhiññā*). But such generalisation as the theory that pain is the badge of sentient tribes can be easily verified by normal experience. Another theory of the nonexistence of substance is the highest generalisation that has not been equalled by any. It has its support in the modern electrical theory of matter. What distinguishes Buddhism as a philosophy from ordinary science is intuition. But intuition is an extreme case of observation not from without as in ordinary scientific procedure but from within. Therefore, there is no essential difference between the scientific and Buddhist methods. Moreover, Buddhism favours comparative and analytic methods of science.

There is Buddhism in every science which accepts the theory of change, the theory of causation and the theory of evolution. Buddhism, as we have seen, inculcates the doctrine of change and teaches the doctrine of causation. It also teaches the theory of the evolution of Evil. There is a parallel in the antithesis between Darwin's theory of the *evils of evolution* and Buddha's doctrine of the *evolution of evils*. The former is due to the great struggle for existence and the latter, to the will to live (*tañhā*), which

Buddhism in Science.

1. J. B. R. S. Vol. VII, Pt. II, p. 151.

gives rise to the struggle for existence. A few decades ago Darwin was scoffed at but now evolution is the watchword of every science; Biology Geology, Astronomy, etc., all recognise the principle of evolution. Even philosophy has not escaped its dictum. Both Buddhism and Bergsonism accept the creative evolution.

Both philosophy and science bear on reality, the latter confining itself to views from without. The field of science is unlimited. With the march of modern science, the subject is never likely to attain its finality. It will not be possible even to exhaust the present stock of scientific theories and facts for want of corresponding theories and facts in Buddhism. Further researches might discover more scientific facts and theories in Buddhism. And what does not strike one as scientific now in Buddhism may assume the scientific character when new facts and theories are discovered by science. For the present, I purpose to single out a few scientific items out of Buddhist scriptures.

First and foremost, Buddhism has been considered as eminently practical and ethical. Its ethics has been generally looked upon as a mere code of human conduct. But what is usually called the science of ethics or the theory of ethics is really the psychology of ethics. And psychology is the stronghold of Buddhism.

Buddhist psychology is at once complete and comprehensive, providing a place for every possible form of thought known or unknown in Western psychology. Not only does it treat of normal consciousness, but also of supernormal and transcendent consciousness. It observes, analyses, compares and classifies consciousness. It bases the laws of mind on the assumed uniformity of mental sequence, and treats of the relations of consciousness. It compares thought to a light, thereby teaching that thought is a sort of radiation. The recognition of it as a radiation would not only explain the phenomenon of telepathy but should open up a vast field for research to place psychology on a level with exact sciences by experimental measurements of thought-waves.

Speaking of telepathy, I may observe that hypnotism has only recently been recognised as a science in the West. It was long known in the East and has been practised by Buddhists and other Orientals with greater perfection than in the West. The Western method begins with a subject, while the Buddhist method begins with the operator himself. It is only by self-control that one can expect to dominate the will of another. Thus while the Western hypnotist cannot hypnotise any person against his will, the Eastern adept has been known to have hypnotised a whole group of subjects. To a mental physiologist the existence of thought independently of the brain would be inconceivable. And yet Buddhism taught it twenty-five centuries ago, and has since found a support in experimental hypnotism which has proved that mind under certain circumstances may be very active when the brain is so to speak, asleep.

Buddhism has been held to be weakest in physical sciences. Take geography first. Nowhere did the Buddha say that the Earth is flat. Buddhaghosa, like Thales and the author of the *Suriyasiddhanta*, taught the sphericity of the Earth. This globe is surrounded by air and space on all sides. Even the Hindu cosmogony, which has been made use of in Buddhist writings as popular illustrations, is, on closer examination, not much at fault. It is the popular opinion and interpretation that are at fault. For instance, Mount Meru, which is placed in the centre of the earth is nothing more than the imaginary axis between the two poles. It has been *imagined* by some to be square and by others to be cylindrical. Its summit, which is no other than the North Pole, always turns towards the Polar star, which has been superstitiously regarded by the ignorant as the summit of the turret on the spire of the palatial mansion of the King of gods. There is a story that Kawālamaing, an adept in the fourth book of Ātappana Veda, once manufactured a cannon to shoot down the Sikra, King of gods. The latter knowing his intention came down to the Earth in the form of a human being and asked him how he would aim his fire at the mansion of the King of gods. The adept replied that he would direct his fire by means of the Polar star. The Sikra then tested his knowledge as to the whereabouts of the King of gods. The expert replied that the King of gods was then on earth talking to him with one leg on a field bund. Thereupon the King of gods, fearing that the seer might be able to shoot him down, spiked the gun and disappeared. I dare say there are different versions of the same story. Though not worth the paper on which it is written, it shows that even geography was taught in an allegory. Commander Peare or Dr. Coók had been forestalled by Hindus ages ago. It is a human desire to reach the abode of gods and there was a quest for the North Pole. Here the story relates that the Sikra, fearing that human beings might reach their home, assumed the form of an old man with grey beard and met the party in quest of the Pole on their way thereto. The old man asked them where they are going to and the party replied that they were seeking the North Pole. The Sikra bade them return home by saying that he himself had been in quest of the same for nearly a life-time but without success. He asked them to witness his grey beard. Thereupon the party returned.

Ancients, however, knew that at the North Pole, East and West disappear and that every direction from it is South. Now, Buddhism teaches that nothing is stationary in space or time. Therefore, it follows that the globe moves in space like other heavenly bodies.

The mention of heavenly bodies brings the subject to astronomy. Here also, eclipses are taught allegorically. For instance, the eclipses of the moon are graphically described as periodical seizures by an Asura who is represented as a dark god revolving, with tremendous speed, close to the Earth. Even in this pictorial representation in a mythical garb, one cannot fail to see that the Asura is no other than the shadow of the revolving Earth personified. The idea of antipodes of the Earth was also developed in

Astronomy and
Astrology.

the representation that this Asura can stand on the South Pole without falling into the abyss. Astrology, which gave rise to astronomy, was condemned by the Buddha and so far as superstitions and prognostications are concerned.

Long before the telescope was invented an infinite number of suns, planets, and worlds was asserted.

Some of the worlds are in course of birth, some, in course of formation as now observed by modern astronomers on the rings of Saturn, and others are in course of decay to become dead like the moon. Our last world was drawn nearer the sun or suns and burnt up. The whole system was changed into one expanse of burning gas or vapour containing all the heterogenous elements. This stage of destruction or *samvatta* occupied one *asaṅkheyya-kalpa* or geologic period of incalculable number of years. This corresponds with the geological theory that our earth was formed from an off-shoot of a sun. This chaotic condition prevailed and continued for another period called *samvatta-thāyī-kalpa*.

The process of renovation or restoration or *vivatta* began with the third period when, with the continued fall of temperature, some of the elements changed into a molten mass and others remained in a state of vapour. The molten mass cooled down and began to solidify in the fourth or last period called *vivatta-thāyī-kalpa*. In this process the outer part cooled down quicker and formed the earth's crust. With the further fall of temperature the condensation of remaining vapour began and a sort of rain fell filling up the hollows on the crust of the earth and forming seas and oceans. The residual vapour was still dense so as not to permit any light to pass through. Further deposits from the vapour would leave the present condition of our atmosphere.

Buddhists advocate the theory of biogenesis that life comes from previous life. They attribute all physical changes to heat or *utu*, but hold that life or *jīvita* is *kammaja*, i. e., born of *Kamma*. Therefore, according to Buddhism, the absolute origin of life is an insoluble problem of problems.

Buddhism further teaches that man is the highest product of evolution in the scale of beings by placing man even above gods. While the great antiquity of mankind is insisted on, its origin, like that of life, is a mystery of mysteries. Buddhism denies *paññā* or reason to lower animals.

In bacteriology, a better knowledge of the eighty classes of microbes may possibly aid in further researches in connection with incurable diseases, notwithstanding what a recent lecturer has said on the subject of the germ-theory.

Buddhism teaches that old age is a kind of disease and is preventible. It does not mean that the allotted interval between birth and death can be indefinitely prolonged. What is allotted to each individual by his own *Kamma* can be cut short by preventible causes. We speak of longevity in the sense that the span of individual life may be above the normal. But Buddhists, like Metch-

nikoff, prescribed *takka* or sour milk as an antidote against the disease of old age.

We pass on to the physiology of nutrition. Buddhism is the only philosophy which offers a theory furnishing a *rationale* of why the dead material food on assimilation is built up into living protoplasm and why living cells get dried up into dead matter again. The essence or *oja* of food undergoes anabolic changes when Kamma steps in to insert life into the last anastate and when katabolic processes begin, it is the same Kamma which withdraws life from the last katastate. Thus a mere knowledge of metabolism does not account for the appearance of life. Hence also the failure of the synthetic attempt of chemists to produce life by a mere combination of plasmic elements. Buddhism also teaches the momentary deaths of these cells.

The Buddhist histology of *kalāpas* or cells is the cellular theory of the West. Four modes of reproduction are known to Buddhism. The propagation of cells by fission, etc., is a mode of reproduction in a suitable medium called *Sanseda* (lit. wet, slimy matter). Hence creatures born in this way are termed *Sansedaja*. The proliferation of cells has already been referred to.

Although every being is born of an egg, the term *andaja* is confined to oviparous creatures, the viviparous being termed *jalābuja*.

The embryonic development of the foetus or *gabbaseyyaka* is dealt with in Buddhist books, showing the progress from week to week.

According to Buddhism sex, like life, is born of Kamma. It is therefore, uncontrollable by the will of the parents. Hence the failure of modern experiments in the West to regulate the sex at pleasure. Primary and secondary sexual characters are also treated of in Buddhist books. The doctrine of Kamma satisfactorily accounts for all variations that cannot be accounted for by scientific heredity which is also recognised by Buddhism.

Buddhism dissects the body into thirty-two parts for purposes of meditation and U Hlaing, Shwepyī Mingyi, wrote a book entitled *Kāyānupassanā* or *Anatomy* on the subject. But, so far as I am aware, the functions of such internal organs as heart and lungs are not well understood.

Alchemy has been regarded in the West as impossible, but there are some people in the East who still believe it to be possible. What is the Buddhistic attitude towards it? Buddhism does not expressly deny it, but it does countenance the transmutation of things. This view is now supported by the discovery of radium which is constantly changing itself into helium.

The modern theory of matter is perfectly compatible with the Buddhist theory of the Four Essentials which are reducible to ether and electricity. Extension (*pathavī*) and cohesion (*āpo*) correspond to the former, and heat (*tejo*) and motion (*vāyo*), to electricity. Ledi Sadaw reduces matter to mere *sattis* (forces)

or *kriyas* (actions) which correspond to what has been differently styled ether-twists, ether-strains in the West.

In the conception of heat science and Buddhism are one. Both do not recognise cold as a separate, independent force. Each regards it as but the absence of heat.

Although matter is, as we have seen, reducible to forces, smell, taste and touch are more popularly considered to be of the nature of *vatthu* or matter. Smell and taste, for instance, are considered to be consisting of effluvia and sapid particles respectively. But light and sound are classed apart from them, so that we know that Buddhism does not countenance the emission theory of light and sound. On the contrary, it looks as if the Buddhists were feeling out their way for the undulatory or wave theory. The possibility of the presentation of light and sound as well as any other classes of sensibles without objective stimuli is unmistakably laid down in Buddhism. For instance, light can be presented to a closed eye as when electricity is applied to the temple.

In conclusion, Buddhism as a philosophy underlies all sciences. As sciences become more and more specialised, they become less and less coherent in meanings. And they require a philosophy to coordinate them all. On the other hand, the monistic tendency of every science to a few highest generalisations in each is likely to end in the unification of all under one philosophy. Buddhism has been endorsed by every past discovery and hails all future discoveries. It sanctions accepted theories such as the conservation of energy. If it has countenanced the atomic theory of Dalton, which has been exploded by the modern electrical theory of matter, it is because that that theory contained a partial truth. And if it now countenances the electrical theory, it only shows how Buddhism is adaptive to the growing needs of the human intellect. In this sense, Buddhism is a marvellous system. Schopenhauer saw pessimism in it; Huxley, agnosticism. Thus each individual thinker may identify Buddhism with his own system. But Buddhism has nothing to fear from them or from their theories, as it is altogether free from dogmas.

S. Z. AUNG.

SEINDAKYAWTHU: MAN AND POET.

HE COUDE SONGES MAKE AND WEL ENDYTE—CHAUCER.

The rise of Alaungpaya from utter obscurity to absolute supremacy marks the dawn of a distinctive epoch in the political as well as the literary history of our country. One of the very foremost of Burmese Kings, he was also a munificent patron of learning. He gave a splendid encouragement to letters in that he honoured with title and office two poets—Seindakyawthu and Letwe-thôndara. There is a peculiar appositeness in the conjunction of the two names. Both were in the service of the last King of Ava who was taken captive by the Talaings in A. D. 1751; both received royal recognition in the days of Alaungpaya and his successors; both produced works which take permanent rank as literature. One may observe without fear of correction or contradiction that Seindakyawthu is in some ways the more interesting figure of the two.

The chief incidents of his life can be rapidly sketched. The son of U Ze Ya, Maung Aw—for so is the poet's real name—was born in 1736 A. D. at Maungdaung, a village in ancient Alôn which is now in the Môngywa Township.

Poetic instinct ran in his mother's blood. She was the elder sister of Twinthin Mingyi, one of the most indubitable of Burmese poets. The passion for poetry came to Maung Aw early in life. It may almost be said of him that he lisped in numbers. He gave glimpses of his precocity by composing verses when a schoolboy. As they have not been preserved, it is impossible to form an estimate of their poetic quality.

In his boyhood, the poet took orders; but he soon left his chanting and telling of beads. The probabilities are that cloistered life proved too grey for his awakening mind. Later, he was taken into the employ of Minyèkyawgaung, the uncle and generalissimo of the last of the Kings of Ava. In his new sphere, he evinced that distinction that he learned the title of Swedaungyazagyaw in his earliest teens.

With the Talaing victory of 1751 things began to take a depressing turn. It is common knowledge that misfortunes are an extremely united family. The poet lost his patron and was left to his own resources. His title also fell into disuse and he again became plain Maung Aw.

Then the turn of the tide came. Alaungpaya swept off the invading forces and became King in 1755. It stands to his credit that he discovered and patronized our poet. Maung Aw received the title of Seindakyawthu and was made Court-poet to Prince Badôn who is better known in Burmese history as Bodawpaya, the style that he assumed on his accession to the throne. It is worthy of remark that his memorable *régime* has received an added lustre from the *littérateurs* who graced it. In the days of Naungdawgyi (1760—63), Seindakyawthu was appointed Laureate. It is said that he ended his days during the reign of Sinbyushin when he was only five-and-thirty.

He was singularly fortunate in his date. Success came to him at once. Veritably, he leapt into fame. The reason is plain enough. When he commenced author he was the *protégé* of Minyèkyawgaung. Indeed, he composed his *Kawi Letkana Thatpôn* at his patron's urgent request. Thus he had the advantage of a splendid opportunity.

To produce an instantaneous impression on the public, the moment must be ready for the man. For the purposes of the literary student, the moral issues and not the facts of history repeat themselves. Milton received ten pounds sterling for his *Paradise Lost* and that in instalments. We are told that he barely escaped the gallows for his pains. Blake was decried as a madman though choice spirits like Wordsworth saw something more interesting in his madness than in the sanity of other men. To come to our own day, we find that a poet of such resplendent genius as George Meredith is not appreciated by the democratic majority. Delicacy forbids us to wonder how many in a hundred readers have heard of Meredith the poet, how many in a thousand can name his chief poems, how many in ten thousand can mention any three characteristics of his poetical achievement. Though it is scarcely safe to prophesy, we may take our courage in both hands and say boldly that he is destined to be a poet of the aristocracy of intellect.

On the other hand, instant popularity may not be mistaken for sterling merit. Nor may poetic worth be measured in *£. s. d.* One instance suffices. Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy* took the public fancy at the hour of its publication and ran into several editions. What is its fate now? Nobody with a literary reputation to lose would consider it more than a bundle of poor platitudes.

It was Seindakyawthu's good fortune not merely to make his *début* as a poet with a patron in place and power but to produce his poems under royal aegis. He survives chiefly by his two works—*Kawi Letkana Thatpôn* and *Awwadatu Pyo*. The first is a *tour de force* and is of great merit and promise. It appeared in 1751 when the poet was only a boy of fifteen. As a speller in verse it is still held in high esteem. There are in all 1787 lines and every line is alive with a depth of meaning. Mingyi Thiri Mahazeya has written an exposition known as *Kawi Letkana Dipani*. It is an octavo volume of about 500 pages and it unfolds the meaning of only 78 lines. The dimness in significance of the original to the lay mind can therefore be readily imagined. Indeed, the crowd regards it as a book sealed with seven seals. Its style is closely packed and the author seems to forget ever and again the dense mentality of his readers. Still his compression of thought is stimulating. When we fail to understand him, we scratch our heads and ask "What does he mean?" Yet we are tempted to puzzle out the real import. Though foiled we follow on.

The next considerable work is *Awwadatu Pyo*. It was published in 1760 during the time of King Naungdawgyi. Its epilogue tells us that it was composed in the stray moments of the poet's crowded career. In it he finds himself. As the title indicates, it contains precepts to guide one in the sabbathless pursuit of wisdom. We grant that it is objection-

able for a poet to turn preacher. We grant that a poet's fame does not rest upon his ability to give us a system of morals. Still our poet disarms criticism by adopting the tone of a friend speaking to a friend. The schoolmaster's forefinger is never pointed at the reader. On the contrary, he is magic'd into good humour by the pervasive charm of the poem.

Seindakyawthu's minor poems are, generally speaking, topical and occasional in nature. The best known are *Song in praise of Yadana-theinga Tank*, *Luda on Alaungpaya's march to Siam*, *Einshe Mibaya Egyin*, *Pindalè Mintha Egyin*, *Minzet Linga* and *Tawla Radu*. Their titles are sufficient indications of their contents.

The poems written for royal occasions are negligible "side-shows." They are open to the charge of being neither inspired nor inspiring. This belongs to the order of things. Art is not at the beck and nod of duty. One who speaks for the nation as an official function can scarcely capture the poetic mood. Poetry is a blend of feeling and expression, passion and art, truth and beauty. It is the language of imagination touched to fine issues by passion and emotion. A poet experiences our universal feelings and interprets them in terms of beauty. His emotions are so moved that they bubble over and touch the fibres of our being. In other words, he projects his personality and communicates what he has felt in beautiful form. The theme may be as old as humanity. None the less he perceives a fresh significance in it and brings a message from the heights of imagination to us inhabitants of the prosaic plains. To clench the matter by an illustrations from recent English verse, take these lines by Rupert Brooke who has been carried away by the world-war of to-day.

When colour goes home into the eyes,
And lights that shine are shut again
With dancing girls and sweet birds' cries
Behind the gateways of the brain;
And that no-place which gave them birth, shall close
The rainbow and the rose:—
Still may Time hold some golden space
Where I'll unpack that scented store
Of song and flower and sky and face,
And count and touch, and turn them o'er,
Musing upon them; as a mother, who
Has watched her children all the rich day through,
Sits quiet-handed, in the fading light,
When children sleep ere night.

—(*The Treasure*).

He that has ears to hear will at once catch the ethereal accent of poetry. So in every fine verse. Great poetry quickens our pulse by its exquisite movement or takes away our breath by its finality and finish of expression.

Seindakyawthu's poems display a nice sense of word-values. True, his poems have no blinding flashes of inspiration. True, also, he lacks

that poetic inspiration which dare gaze full into the infinite. Still we have compensations. His poems have distinction and accomplishment, and his technique often challenges praise. In his short *Luda on Alaungpaya's march to Siam* he describes how the kings of the earth yield sway to Alaungpaya thus:—

ကျွန်းအပိုင်းပိုင်း။ တိုင်းအတည်တည်။ ပြည်အဖို့စို့။ မြို့အခန်းခန်း။ နန်းအသီးသီး။ ထီးအဆူဆူ။ ကျွန်းဇမ္ဗူထက်။
မင်းဟူသမျှ။ မာန်မချက်။ ဂျောက်ပတ်မြင်။ ငှက်ရသည့်ချည်း။ ပူးတည်းရင်ဆိုင်။ မမြင်ပုံကြ။ ဦးညွတ်ရသား။

Do not these lines reveal his masterful handling of word-music? Is it not also plain that he is a past-master of pencraft? His command of words is such that they seem to come to him before they are wanted. An interesting story sheds abundant light on the facileness of his pen. When he had had in hand his *Kazwi Letkana Thatpôn*, he toured Lower Burma in order to acquire an exacter knowledge of local terms. He reached Ywabyè. There, he visited the monastery. The Superior knowing, as he did, the far-resonant fame of the poet thought to set him an impossible task. The poet was asked to extemporize some lines on Ywabyè, the Superior's village and Aung Gyaw, his nephew; on his omnivorous appetite and his chatty temper; on his fever-ridden state and his huge betel-box that hung from his hand. The poet rose to the emergency and dashed off the following:—

ကွမ်းအစ်ကြီးလက်မှာဆွဲလို့။ ရွာမြကကိုယ်တော်။ အောင်ကျော်ရှင်ရိုး။ စကားထွေရာနှောင်လို့။ တွေ့မရှောင်ကယ်
အောင်စားတယ်။ ဖျားတဲခွင်ကြီး။

In his poetry the craftsman is apt to succeed at the cost of the poet. It has feet to march with a stately tread, but has no wings to soar to the imaginative realm. It is of the earth, earthy. Polished, solid, durable, it has an intellectual quality which may be termed hard brilliance.

The *Tawla Radu* shows that he is quite capable of lyric outbursts. It is a nature-poem which reveals how the sights and sounds of birds and beasts in a lonesome forest pass into the poet's sensibilities. Take an instance in point:—

တောင်ချင်းလည်ချင်း။ မကင်းဘက်ယက်။ နွဲ့ကာစက်၍။ စုံမက်ယုယ။ အမနွဲ့တုံ။ ဖိုကင်္ဂိုလို့။ နှုတ်ဖြင့်တို့၏။ သို့သို့
လူလို့။ ချစ်ဘွယ်ကိုလျှင်။ ထိုထိုလမ်းပါ။ မြင်မိငြားသော်။ သနားစဘွယ်။ အော်နှယ်သည်မျှ။ စမ္မိယ်ရဘဲ။ မယ်နှင့်ကွဲဟု။
ဝမ်းထဲရေးရေး။ ပူ၍ဆွေးသည်။ (The birds are locked in a close embrace. With wings and necks intimately entwined, they bill and coo, and the male feeds its mate out of its own mouth. Such affection is akin to human love. The sight of the happy pair on my way touches me with very pity for my sorry state. Sundered from my wife, I am denied even the common delight of birds. O, the thought of it! In my stormful bosom pain is lord.)

In sentiment this passage is very near of kin to Burns's lines:—

Ye banks and braes o' bonnie Doon
How can ye blume sae fair!
How can ye chant, ye little birds,
And I sae fu' o' care!

Thou'll break my heart, thou bonnie bird
That sings upon the bough;
Thou minds me o' the happy days
When my fause Luve was true.

Thou'll break my heart, thou bonnie bird
That sings beside thy mate;
For sae I sat, and sae I sang,
And wist na o' my fate.

Seindakyawthu's description betrays an intimate observation of birds. But there is nothing like the freshness of a new discovery. He surprises no secret. Neither does he give a fresh insight into the significance of things. He merely gives free utterance to the universal heart of man. His words come right from his heart to ours.

In the greatest elements of poetic art one would hesitate to mention him in the same breath with the strong masters. Yet, notwithstanding this, those who deem the essential business of a poet to be to clothe our common feelings in beautiful and moving words set to melodious numbers, will find in him an ample source of solace and enjoyment. This, in truth, constitutes his distinguishing claim to grateful remembrance.

BA HAN.

PHONETIC CHANGES IN THE KAREN LANGUAGE.

The Karen language, in one or the other of its dialects, is spoken by about 900,000 of people, scattered throughout Burma. They are found in the range of hills that lie on the Eastern side of Burma, and in the plains along the lower courses of the Sittaung, and in the delta of the Irrawaddy. The Karens who live in the hills have had comparatively little contact with other races; those who live on the plains are scattered among the Burmans, and their speech shows signs of corruption due to this closer contact with other races.

The Karen language has two principal dialects, the Pwo and the Sgaw, corresponding of course to a tribal division.

These two tribes contain the bulk of the Karen population of Burma, and there is good reason to believe that they represent two waves of immigration, the Pwos having come into Burma first, and the Sgaws later. Those of the Hill Karens who live farthest to the north are split up into a number of tribes, each with its own dialect.

In some instances the Sgaw dialect seems to have adhered more closely to the primitive Karen, in some instances the Pwo dialect. Phonetic changes in the Sgaw seem to have been more the result of causes inherent in the Karen language itself. The Pwos, separating from the Sgaws at an early date—how early nobody knows—have escaped the influence of some of these causes. But coming more in contact with other races, the Pwo more than the Sgaw shows changes due to the influence of other languages.

The Karen language affords peculiar facilities for investigating tendencies to phonetic change, in that it was reduced to writing, in three dialects—Sgaw, Pwo, and Bwè—less than 90 years ago. They were reduced to writing where the language is spoken in its greatest purity—in the Southern part of the Hills, where the language has been subject to a minimum of disintegrating influence, either from contact with the Burmese, or from dialectic variation, and they were reduced to writing with absolute phonetic accuracy. I cannot permit myself to go on without mentioning the name of the Rev. Jonathan Wade, D.D., that great scholar, who was not only the pioneer in the work of reducing Karen to writing, but who carried the work to a successful completion in the case of the principal dialect, the Sgaw. We have the advantage of knowing accurately how the Karen language was pronounced, in its three main dialects, less than a century ago, in those regions when it was spoken in its greatest purity.

At the present time, the writing of Karen no longer represents the pronunciation with absolute accuracy. In some localities the variation between the pronunciation and the spelling is greater than it is in others, but almost everywhere there is some variation. The deviation of the pronunciation from the spelling is least in those parts of the country where the language was first reduced to writing, and where, as has been said, the language has been less corrupted by contact with

other races. I have an idea that even when the language was reduced to writing, the pronunciation in some localities had already begun to vary from the original standard—very probably in the Sgaw dialect, and certainly in the Pwo. As the spelling represents the pronunciation of those who spoke the language in its greatest purity, it may be fairly taken as representing the original pronunciation—not, of course, the absolute original, but the original relative to other pronunciations—the closest approximation to the original of which we have or shall have any record. The variations of pronunciation from the spelling will then illustrate tendencies to phonetic change. But this is not all. Though the Karens have a written language, they are by no means a literary people; and among them the process of phonetic change goes on more rapidly than it does among more literate peoples. Certain changes are taking place within the memory of men now living. The present writer has been familiar with the Sgaw Karen language for twenty eight years and during that time he has noticed the growth and development of some tendencies to phonetic changes, to which attention will be called in the course of this paper. Not all the changes mentioned have been thus matter of personal observation, each one that has been will be distinctly mentioned.

The Karen language is monosyllabic. As a natural consequence there are in it no umlauts, no modification of a vowel sound in one syllable through the influence of a vowel occurring in a succeeding syllable. Such modifications as occur, occur for reasons inherent in the one syllable, and consonant modifications are more frequent than vowel modifications.

Changes connected with k sounds.

The Karen language has two *k* sounds, an unaspirated, and an aspirated. The former may be designated by *k* (က) and latter by *kh* (ခ). It must be borne in mind that the Karen *k* is not our palatal *k*: both *k* and *kh* are velar sounds formed by approaching the back of the tongue to the veil of the palate. Now both of these sounds, the aspirated and unaspirated, suffer modification in certain localities before *i* and *e* sounds. *K* is modified into a sound somewhat resembling the English *j*, *kh* into a sound resembling the English *ch*. This modification is universal among the Sgaws on the plains; it is never found among the Sgaws on the Hills; and it is a very significant fact that the Pwos universally retain the unmodified *k*, and *kh* before *i* and *e* sounds—significant as affording evidence that the *k* & *kh* sounds were the original ones in Sgaw Karen.

For instance, the word *ki*, (ကိ) meaning thigh, retains the *k* sound among the Hill Karens, but among the people of the plains, it is pronounced like *kyi*, (ခိ). The Pwos in all parts retain the original sound *ki* (ကိ). Similarly with the word *khi*, (ခိ), darkness. The Sgaws on the plains modify it to *chi*, (ခိ), the Pwos uniformly retain the original sound *khi* (ခိ),

This change of course suggests the similar change by which the *c* and *g* sounds in Latin have in Italian been modified into the *ch* and *j* sounds before *i* and *e*, and has analogies with the rule of French and English pronunciation by which the letters *c* and *g* have the soft sound before *i* and *e*.

Without committing myself with reference to the European languages, I may be permitted to suggest a reason for this modification in Sgaw Karen. There velar *k* and *kh* are formed far back in the mouth. The vowel sounds *i* and *e* are formed in the front of the mouth. The passage from a back consonant to a front vowel involves the maximum change in the position of the organs of speech, and the Karen (as he himself admits)¹ likes to do things the easy way. So he modifies the velar *k* or *kh* into a *j* or *ch* sound, which is formed further forward in the mouth, and thus obtains an easier transition to the front vowels *i* and *e*.

I now take up a modification in which I have personally observed an increasing tendency towards change since I began my Karen studies in 1890. The *è* sound is not formed so far forward as *i* or *e*, and the motive for modifying *k* before this sound, though not devoid of force, would have less force than in the case of the *i* and *e* sounds. Now what do we find to be the case? The Pwos, and the Sgaws on the Hills, retain the unmodified *k* and *kh* sounds; among the Sgaws on the plains the usage varies, some retaining the unmodified *k* and *kh* before *è*, others modifying into *j* and *ch*. Now I have observed in the past 30 years a distinct tendency to increase in the use of the modified sounds, especially among the rising generation, and the modification of *k* into *ky* in far more common than that of *kh* into *khy*. For instance the word *kè* (ကဲ) meaning to become, is uniformly pronounced *kè* (ကဲ) on the hills, frequently pronounced so on the plains, but quite commonly pronounced *kyè* (ကဲ). The Pwos on the Hills and plains alike retain the original pronunciation *kè* (ကဲ).

The particle *khè* (ခဲ) is generally pronounced as spelled in all parts of the country; but there is a tendency to modify it into *khyè* (ခဲ). This tendency is manifested among the younger people, and is I think growing. Thirty years ago a Karen said to me: "The older people call it *khè*, but some of the young people call it *khyè*."

Changes connected with Guttural Sounds.

The Karen language has two guttural sounds, one corresponding to the German *ch*, (ဆ) as heard in such a word as *ach*, and the other corresponding to nothing in any European language with which I am acquainted. It may be written *gh*, (ဂ). This second deeper guttural, is combined with other consonants, viz., the unaspirated and the aspirated *p*, (ပ, ပေ) and the unaspirated and the aspirated *s*, (စ, ဆ). These combinations of this deeper guttural with labials and sibilants are peculiarly difficult to enunciate; in fact, they constitute one of the most serious difficulties for foreigners to learn the karen. These are not wanting indications that the Karen find them unpleasant to pronounce.

The Pwos, who have proved themselves the more conservative tribe in reference to the *k* sound, have been less conservative than the Sgaws in dealing with these gutturals in combination. They have abolished entirely the use of the deeper guttural in combination with the *s* and *p* sounds.

For the unaspirated *s*, (စ) with the deeper guttural, (ဝ), the Pwo dialect substitutes: *sh*, (ရှ) unaspirated *s*, (စ) aspirated *s*, (ဆ), the other guttural, and *k* (က).

For the aspirated *s* (ဆ), with the deeper guttural, the Pwo substitutes: *sh*, (ရှ) aspirated *s*, (ဆ) *th*, (သ) *kw*, (ခ) or the other guttural.

For the unaspirated *p* (ပ) with the deeper guttural, the pwo substitutes: the aspirated *p* with *l*, (ဖျ) the other guttural combined with *w* (စွ), or *sh* (ရှ).

For the aspirated *p* with this guttural the Pwo substitutes: *sh*, (ရှ) the other guttural with *w* (စွ) or the deeper guttural alone.

စို-ရှ to grasp with the hand.

စို-ဆိ to grasp with the ends of the fingers.

ရှ-ရှ a few.

ရှ-ဆ a rapid.

ရှ-သ fresh, as meat.

ဆိ-ရှ Wild, undomesticated

ဆိ-ဆ to be clean.

ဆိ-ဆိ stamp the foot.

ဆိ-ဆိ strips of bark used as strings.

ဆိ-ဆ to jest about love affair.

ပ-ဖျ to dissolve.

ပ-ဆ to buy.

ပ-ရှ old.

ပ-ရှ to separate.

ပ-ဆ to sow.

ပ-ရှ to anoint.

To sum up, the Pwos have felt this sound difficult or unpleasant, and have avoided it, in a multiplicity of ways. They do not find it impossible to enunciate, since they acquire it readily enough when they take up the Sgaw dialect. Perhaps their dropping the sound may be accounted for by the fact that they have been more intimately associated with the Burmans than the Sgaws have been, and that the sounds now in question are quite foreign to the Burmese language. I shall have to cite an instance later on in which the pronunciation of the Pwo dialect has been very evidently modified through the influence of the Burmese.

Among the Sgaws there is a slight tendency to modify the sound where the deeper guttural is combined with the *s* sounds. This is not done universally, nor is it done with entire classes of the words. But in

a few words in common use, the Sgaws on the plains tend to make a modification. In the word for few *sgha* ရှ the deeper guttural, in combination with the unaspirated *s*, is replaced by a sound approximately *j* the same sound referred to in discussing the modification of *k* sounds, and we get *kya*. (ကျ) This is found only in certain localities.

In the word for lead, *sghö*, (ရှ) the aspirated *s*, combined with this guttural, is replaced by *sh*, and we get *shö*. (ရှ) I have an impression—a very decided impression—that this tendency has sprung up and largely increased since I first became familiar with the language.

I have observed no tendency among the Sgaws to any modification when the deeper guttural is combined with *p* sounds. These combinations require less change in the arrangement of the vocal organs than do those with the *s* sounds. A more opening of the lips is sufficient for the *p* sound to the guttural; but the transition from the *s* sound requires a lowering and retraction of the tongue.

Changes connected with aspirates.

The Karen language has four pairs of consonants, the aspirated and unaspirated *k*, *s*, *t* and *p*. Now there is a noticeable tendency, in the Pwo dialect to use the aspirated forms when the Sgaw has the unaspirated ones. The general rule is that the aspirated and unaspirated forms coincide in the two dialects. But the cases when a root is unaspirated in Sgaw and aspirated in Pwo, constitute a numerous class of exceptions. I do not think there is any case in which a root which is aspirated in Sgaw is unaspirated in Pwo. In other words, the Pwo dialect has a preference for aspirated sounds; it aspirates all the roots which the Sgaw aspirates, many which the Sgaw leaves unaspirated. The question whether the aspirated or unaspirated form was the original, in such cases, could not be determined without a comparison with other Karen dialects.

Miscellaneous consonant changes.

In one district of Burma, the sound *h* (ဟ) in the word *hi*, (ဟိ) house, is pronounced almost; but not quite, like *sh*. In other cases where it is followed by the same consonant, it is not modified. I think I have noticed of late years a tendency on the part of people in other districts to adopt this modified pronunciation of this word.

Changes connected with Vowels.

The Karen is a tonal language. Each vowel may be pronounced with several tones. Some of these tones are abrupt and some are prolonged. In many parts of Burma, among the Karens the vowel *o*, (ဝိ) when pronounced in an abrupt tone, is modified to *aw*, (ဝိ),

That the *o* and not the *aw* sound is the original one in these words is supported by the fact that the corresponding words in Pwo retain the *o* sound.

The Sgaw dialect has three *u* sounds; *ö*, *ü*, & *u*.

The Pwo has a fourth one, intermediate between *ö* and *ü*. In Sgaw this fourth sound is changed into *ö*. Probably the primitive Karens had the four sounds, and one was dropped but in Sgaw under the influence of the tendency to abolish excessive and troublesome distinctions.

Among the Pwos of some districts, the *è* sound is changed to an *ai* sound. Among the Pwos an *i* sound, pronounced with the abrupt intonation, is modified into an *e* sound.

Changes connected with Nasals.

An outstanding feature of the Karen phonology is that every syllable of the language is open, i. e., it ends in a vowel. In the Sgaw dialect, all of the vowels are pure; in the Pwo there are both pure and nasal vowels. That is, in Pwo every vowel is pronounced pure in some words, and nasal in others. It is an interesting problem whether these nasals are or are not part of the original Karen—whether the Sgaws have dropped them or the Pwos have added them. These nasals are on a different footing to the French nasals to which at first sight they appear to present some analogy. The French nasals are the relics of nasal consonants in the original roots; the Karen nasals are not relics of original consonants.

Now I am satisfied that the nasal vowels are part of the original Karen, and that the Sgaws have dropped them from considerations of ease and euphony. The reason why I believe the nasals to have been original is this:—we occasionally meet in Sgaw Karen, a root which has two or three different and disconnected meanings. The question how one root came to have such very different meanings is insoluble if we confine our attention to the Sgaw dialect, but finds an easy solution if we take the Pwo into account. The one root in Sgaw represents two or three distinct roots in Pwo. The pure vowel in the Sgaw root may represent a pure vowel, and one or two nasal vowels, in several distinct Pwo roots, and laws can be formulated which account for the modification of the several Pwo sounds into the one Sgaw sound. Among these laws are the following:—

A pure vowel in Pwo is usually represented by the same vowel in Sgaw.

A nasal vowel in Pwo is usually represented by the corresponding pure vowel in Sgaw.

A nasal *a* in Pwo is often represented by a pure *aw*.

For instance in Sgaw Karen, the word *parw* (𑜋) means to cook rice, a flower, a granary—three distinct and disconnected meanings. Turning to the Pwo we find that the word for cook is *parwn*, (𑜋𑜁) that for a flower is *parw*, (𑜋𑜁) that for a granary is *pan*, (𑜋𑜁) and that each of these roots becomes *parw*, (𑜋) in Sgaw, by process which seem to be more or less regularly operative.

The Sgaws, as I have said seem to have dropped out these nasals, as being difficult to enunciate, and unpleasant to hear. Why have the Pwos retained them? I think the answer is found in the fact that the

Pwos have been more affected by Burmese influence than the Sgaws. Among the Burmans, nasalized vowels are of very frequent occurrence, and the Pwo Karens, hearing and using such sounds freely in the Burmese, have naturally been less inclined to drop them from their own tongue.

An instance of the Burman influence is seen in the treatment of the nasalized *aw* among the Pwo Karens. In Tavoy and Mergui, where the Burman influence is least felt, this is pronounced as it is every where written, a nasalized *aw*. But in the delta of the Irrawaddy where the Burmese influence is very strong, it is changed to a nasalized *ow*, which is a very common sound in Burmese. I have observed a tendency in some parts of Burma to transmute other nasalized sounds, *o* and *u* sounds into this Burmese nasalized *ou*.

The nasalization sometimes leads to other modifications of vowel sounds.

A nasalized *i* sound is modified to *e*, and a nasalized *è* sound to *ai*.

D. C. GILMORE.

ရာဇဝင်တို့မှ၊ နှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်ထုတ်နုတ်ဘော်ပြချက်။

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BURMESE HISTORY. *

[There are four kinds of histories:

1. Four kinds of Histories. (a) Histories as recorded in inscriptions.
(b) Histories as written by the learned by royal order.
(c) Histories as handed down by word of mouth.
(d) Histories as acted in plays.

(a) The first are worthy of attention as in them kings, ministers, monks and learned men have written down for the benefit of future generations just what they wanted to say in plain words without introductory remarks and superfluous praise.

(b) The second are those which are written to please kings and avoid their censure and are therefore untrustworthy. They do not relate all the circumstances in any king's reign. Some of the learned consider them as histories of praise.

(c) The third are considered by the learned as histories of exaggeration, being accounts of improbable things. For instance: Tradition has it that when the two monks, Dhammadhara and Dhammañāṇa eloped with Shin Sawbu, daughter of Rājādirit of Hanthawaddy, and queen of Thihathū at Ava they with some attendants quietly left Ava and came down the river in a boat, placing a charmed piece from a broken bowl each in the prow, middle part and stern of the boat. Dhammadhara was steersman and Dhammañāṇa sat at the prow. When the first line of guards challenged them they turned over the charm at the prow and the boat became a huge red boat and they escaped. When they came to the second line of guards, they turned over the charm in the middle part and the boat became a huge yellow boat and they escaped. At the third line of guards they turned over the charm at the stern and the boat became a huge green boat and they escaped from the lands of the Burmese. The place where they halted came consequently to be called "Yankinsan-ya," "Security from danger." This is the history as handed down by word of mouth and has even been acted in plays and sung by rhapsodists.

The point for consideration is that if the charm was so powerful why did it not make the boat and its occupants invisible? Why could not the guards stop a boat merely because it was red, yellow or green? Moreover according to an ancient custom of kings a boat conveying monks may not be challenged. And Dhammadhara and Dhammañāṇa travelling as monks should not have been challenged.

Again, they say that the chief queen of King Bagyidaw, grand-son of Bodawpaya was not of royal blood but was a fish-monger, by the name of Mai Nu, a Phalankhon woman of Ye-ū town. As she stayed

* Delivered at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition on January 25th 1918.

selling cheroots in the house of the North gate-keeper of Amarapura, her lower dress (*thamī*) was blown away by a whirl-wind from where it was being dried in the sun and remained encircling the summit of the Royal palace of Amarapura. This incident accounts for her subsequent glory as queen.

To consider: If as alleged the dress of a base woman got entwined round the summit of his palace, then surely the King would at once fall from his glory. Hence we know it to be a yarn.

(d) As regards histories as acted in plays, actors represent Shin Saw Bu and Dhammaceti, her son-in-law as husband and wife indulging in high sentiments of no dramatic value.

Also it is acted with much sentiment that the Kyauk-waing pagoda is so-called because Ma Shwe Bwin, wife of the crocodile Nga Mo Yeik set up *stones round* his bones. This name and derivation are due to ignorance of the Talaing name, ကိုင်းခင်းခွေ where ကိုင်း means a pagoda, ခင်း to hide, and ခွေ to play. The meaning is that it is the pagoda where Kakusan the Buddha and a Belu played at hide-and-seek. The last syllable came to be dropped out and kyauk-waing is further changed now into kyauk-waing. Again, actors act with much sentiment the scenes of the mother crying over the burial of her son Shwe Kyu on the occasion of building the Ānanda Pagoda at Pagan and of the burial of the son on the occasion of building the Sin-min-wut pagoda and of the mother Aung Pyu at the Lake Kyauk-pana at Sagaing.

These are not recorded in *Thamaings*, inscriptions and histories although some maintain their truth as dramatic histories.

Again it is represented in plays that Thado, Crown Prince of Rājā-dhirit, was thrown into water owing to the jealousy of his step-mother and that before he expired he made a prayer at the Shwe Mawdaw-pagoda, in consequence of which he was reborn as Tabinshwehti. This is not recorded in history nor in *Rajadhirit Ayedawbon*. Rajadhirit is not known to have a son by the name of Thado, the Crown Prince.

Such are some of the discrepancies to be met with in the histories as acted in plays. They may be said to spoil history. Hence of the four kinds, histories as recorded in inscriptions are the only trustworthy ones.

While Bodawpaya of Amarapura was a prince and his nephew Maung Maung, Paungkasah was king, the prince's younger brother, Prince Pintale said: "O brother, are we submitting to the despotism of Nga Maung?" Bodaw asked "Can you suggest anything?" Pintale answered: "Yes; but when you get to the throne, how will you reward me?" Bodaw replied, "when the elder brother is king, surely the younger brother will be in attendance." Accordingly Pintale quietly entered the Palace, assassinated Paungkasah and gave the throne to Bodaw. Later, on being repeatedly reminded of the promise King Bodawpaya told Pintale that he was unable to make him Crown-prince as he had to take into consideration many grown-up sons. Then was Pintale grieved at the ingratitude of the king. One day when the king went out on elephant-

2. Not mentioned in histories by royal order.

back Pintale fired a gun at him from where he hid himself. The bullet went just underneath the king's armpit and did him no harm. Pintale was caught and received no mercy and was killed by drowning.

This incident has not been inserted by royal order in the *Konbounget Mahayazawin*. So the present writer has read in a *parabeik* which attributes the account to Bônkyaw Sayadaw.

The first volume of the *Hmannan Mahayazawin* gives the dates of the ascension and fall of King Anoratha of Pagan. The
 3. Unrecorded
 Dates. dates of the following seven events, important as they are, are not recorded: (1) the despatch of the Buddha's tooth-relic to China p. 281, (2) Advance on Thaton p. 276, (3) arrival of Shin Arahan at Pagan p. 269, (4) Mission to Ceylon for the Buddha's tooth-relic p. 293, (5) Journey to Bengal and the placing of figures worked by machinery p. 302, (6) The taking away of the gold front brim of a cap of state from Arakan p. 289, (7) Giving in marriage of Princess Shin Mun Hla from the Shan States p. 286.

Again, the date of the year in which Anoratha, requested by the king of Pegu, went with his heroes to aid the Peguans is not given; nor is the name of the king of Pegu mentioned p. 297.

Again, the year in which Anoratha repaired the Lake at Meiktila is not dated. The date is given in the Thamaing of the Lake as 416, Saturday, the full moon day of Tagu. So it is in *Kawilakkhanadipani* p. 201.

Mañiratanapon Kyan records that when Mingyiswasawakai of Ava came to build the embankment of the Meiktila Lake in the year Sakkarāj 730, Po Yaza told him that the king's ancestor Anoratha of Pagan had already done so. But in the first volume of the *Hmannan* p. 459 it is said that Po Yaza told the same thing to Narapatisithu of Paukkan.

The second volume of the *Hmannan* p. 202 says the King Rutpi of
 4 Disagree-
 ment among the
 histories. Hanthawaddy by reason of Tabinshwehti removed his capital to Kyat-maw. The *Rājowāda* by Monywaesaya-daw printed at Rangoon in B. E. 1244 says that Rutpi built the town of Kyauk-maw p. 380.

The second volume of the *Hmannan* p. 209 says that King Rutpi died at Angapu.

Of these, Kyat-maw is not known, whereas Kyauk-maw is known. Kyat maw would mean the "end pagoda." Some Talaing monks identify it with Hmawbi; Kyauk-maw town is said in the Hanthawaddy document to exist to the east of the river Paung-laung.

There is reason to believe that king Rutpi died at Angapu. Angapu Lake and Angapu village exist in the Nyaung-don district. There they make oblations to the Po Rutpi the guardian Nat of the Lake. The Nat is supposed by the Talaings to be connected with King Rutpi.

The first volume of the *Hmannan* says that Queen Nankhan won in
 5. The found-
 ing of Thayekhet-
 taya. the struggle with her brother for the throne. The sister founded a village at Thakya-in and lived with her followers. And the people who dwelt at Thakya-in worshipped the Hermit, brother-in-law to the king of Tagoung. Again, it is said that the Pyu Queen Nankhan was of the Thakyathaki (Sākiyans)

of Tagoung. Hence Thakya-in took its name from her. If the Queen founded the village at Thakya-in, then this name must have existed previously. The book called *Buddhakula vamsavivādarvinicchaya* agrees with *Hmannan*. *Kabyattacandikā* by U Pe of the Archæological Survey says that Queen Nankhan with her followers removed to Thakya-in, which took its name from the Queen.

An old manuscript earlier than the *Paleiksa-Egyin* and the *Yazawingyok* has Thagya-in as the name of a village. And this might as well be taken to be the *in* created by the Thagyamin. (Sakra)ⁱ

The year of the founding of the town is not given in the first volume of the *Hmannan* pp. 190-191, where the marriage of Mahathambhava and Bedayi is stated to have taken place in the year of the religion full 60.

But the *Paleiksa Egyin*, *Yazawingyok*, and *Pakinnakadīpani* by U Kyaw Dun and *Buddhakulavamsavivādarvinicchaya Kyan* fix the government of the Pyu village at the year Sakkarāj 60. *Sāsanālankāra* says that Dvuttaboung built the Town of Thayekkettaya in the year 101 of the religion. But the year is given as 100 in the Concise History written by Mahā Atula Dhammarāja guru Sayadaw. It ought to be remembered in this connection that the Sayadaw was older than Maung: Daung, author of *Sāsanālankāra*.

Hmannan, *Yazawingyok* and the *Paleiksa Egyin* do not say that the moat round the ridge of Thayekkettaya has three bends.

The *Vinicchayapakāsamānā*, by Letwethondara in the verse beginning with ဝတ္ထုဝိသေ, describes how the moat is not circular as three *in*'s called Nwègyaw, Hngetpyawtaw, Kazun had to be avoided in making a circle with the end of a rope of cow's hide tied to the centre of the town. The *Hmannan* first volume adds that Thagyamin held the central post while the Naga made the circle and that the town was built within this area.

If in making the circle no cow's hide was used because the Naga himself went round, great must have been the King's power.

Thāthanālīnkāra sādān pp. 37, 72 says that Sāgala of the Yonakas, 6. Yonaka Country, the land of Nāgasena and Milinda is the land of the Yuns, Shans, Lawas, and Khamins. *Pakinnakadīpani Kyan* p. 74 identifies it with the land of the Sawlon-Shans, the nine provinces of the Yuns, fifty-seven provinces of the Zimme.

Thāthanāwuntha sādān by the first Maung: Daung identifies it with the land of the Shans and Yuns.

In the *Questions of Milinda* in connection with the punishment of Rohaṇa it is said that Gajañgala, a village of Poṇṇas is situated close to the Himalayas.

It is clear that the Himalaya is in the west country and since there are no Ponnas in the land of the Yuns and Shans it follows that Sāgala, the capital of the Yonakas must be in the west country. This is proved by the Archæological discoveries in the western circle as reported by the Mahabodhi Newspaper. Hence Sāgala of the Yonakas cannot be in the land of the Shans, Yuns, Lawas and Khamins. If it were so, it would certainly retain its name.

According to History, Talaing and Burmese and Thamaings there are three circles in Rāmañña: Hanthawaddy-circle, 7. Error regard- Muttama-circle and Kuthima-circle. But *Pakinnakadī-* ing Circles. *panī Kyan* p. 60, mentions another as Ukkalāpa-circle without documentary evidence. It is clear, however, that Ukkalāpa is included in Hanthawaddy.

The *Toungoo Thamaing* p. 5 records the visit of the Buddha to Ukkan 8. Buddha's Thonze in Rāmañña. This is not stated in History and Itinerary. in *Thāthanālinkāra* which say that the Buddha only reached the Sunaparanta and Suvannabhūmi (countries) to the west of the Irrawaddy.

It is said that the brothers Acchika and Phallika sons of the millionaire Piṇḍika met the Buddha in Ukkan Thonze. It is not known of which town the millionaire was. But the *Shwe Mawdaw Thamaing* says that two merchants, Culasala and Mahasala sons of the millionaire Piṇḍika of the sea-port village of Sudhammapuri in Rāmañña went to the "Middle Country" to trade and there met the Buddha. Another Thamaing says that these two merchants were sons of Pwuṇḍika-thitthi of Zaungtu and that they met the Buddha at mount Makuṭa near Rajagaha. The *Toungoo Thamaing* on this point is not worthy of belief.

The *Shwe Mawdaw Yazawin Thamaing* says that the town of Tazaungtu was so called owing to the similarity between the *tazaungs* made by the millionaire Piṇḍika and the Queen. The name has now become Zaungtu.

When an offering of robes was made to it, the pagoda looked like a mass of gold. Referring to this they gave the name Shwe Pawthaw (abundant with gold), which in course of time became Shwe Maw-daw. So the author of the *Shwe Maw-daw Thamaing* says through ignorance of the Talaing origin of the names, the Talaing names being မိုးတုတ် then မိုးတူ and now ဇောင်းတူ meaning "the place of hot sand;" and ကျိုက်မော်တာ then ကျိုက်မူတာ then မူတာ then မော်တာ then ရွှေမော်တာ now ရွှေမော် ဇော meaning the "extremity where the Buddha stood."

Sagaing is one town; Jeyyapura is another. Some people unacquainted with history mistake Sagaing Jeyyapura for 9. Confusion of two towns. one and the same town. Sagaing was built in Sakkarāj 648 by Sankhaya Sawyun and was the capital of six kings. It is situated near Khawe-taung of the Shwe-u-min range due east of See-kongyi, the meritorious deed of Sihapati min-pyauk. Jeyyapura with a circumference of 830 ta's, 4 gates and an arch of brick was resorted to by the son of Alaung-min in anticipation of a rising by the rebel Na Tvun who bore the title of Mahaminha Minkhaung. The town is said in the inscription of the Aung-mye-loka-pagoda to have been built at the Royal house-site once rightly occupied between the north bank of the Irrawaddy and Thuparama pagoda.

10. Not recorded in history. The *Mahāvamsa* of Ceylon does not give the lineage of the Queen of Duṭṭhagāminī.

Again, the *Konbounget Mahayazawin* p. 14 says that Alaungmin was born of Mahadevi, the Chief Queen of Sirimahadhammaraja, son of Min-

sit-naing, the sixteenth in descent from Princess Kyaungtaw-thi, daughter of Narapathi-sithu, the forty-seventh in descent from Pyu-sawti.

The *Alaung-min-tayagyi Ayetawbon* p. 5 does not give the mother's name.

Buddhakulavansavivadavinicchaya Kyan p. 154 follows the *Konbounget*.

The *Alaungpaya Dynasty* by James Gray gives the father's name as Maung Nyo San and the mother's name as Shin Nyein Aung.

Some elderly people say that they have seen an inscription to the effect that Zambuseemee Pagoda, west of the Funeral Street, at the Tharrawaddy gate of Shwebo was built by Alaungpaya's father, Min-Nyo San, with the title of Siridhammaraja.

U Candasiri, Theintaung Sayadaw of Tounghop town says that Uggabala raja son of Canathushin of Myauk-u, Dhaññawati was murdered by his attendants while staying temporarily at Cheik town. The Tazaung Queen of the Southern Palace, who has conceived three months previously escaped for safety to Moksobo town in the Eastern Country and lived with the village headman. When the child was born the Queen asked the headman to name it Aungzeyya in memory of the danger she had overcome. This Aungzeyya is stated in old Arakan histories to be brother to Prince Vajiya born of the Queen of the Northern Palace at Myauk-u. Thus the histories which have been quoted disagree. The Sayadaw's account, if true, would subvert the Burmese histories.

Before Bodawpaya died he said to the minister Mahadhammasankram, "After my death give the throne to my grandson, Hpannan Shin. Let him embrace the wheel. Let him make Pandaung Queen of the South Palace. Allow not the *mango** to mature. Accordingly the wise minister advised the king's grandson to take the Pandaung Princess but the prince refused. When the minister pressed him saying, "as the bone is to the fowl, so is the family to human beings." Mai Nu† retorted by saying:—"As the kidney to the fowl, so is love to human beings." She was made Queen. Such is the tradition handed down by word of mouth by the ancients. It is probable that it was left out through fear of royal displeasure from the *Hmannan* which was written in Hpannan's reign. The king is known variously as Hpannan Shin, Sagaingmin, Founder of the fourth city Ratanapura, Naungdaw Bayin, Bagyidaw and builder of Mahavijayaramsi pagoda, Mahasakyasihaloharupa image, white image of Mahasakyarāṇsi. Hpannan Shin was the name given by Bodaw. Sagaingmin was acquired from Sagaing town which he governed, Naungdaw Bayin was given as being brother to Koungboun min, Bagyidaw as being uncle to Pagan min and king Mindon.

* Prince in charge of Thayetmyo, the mango-town. Later he was known as Tharrawaddy Min.—*Editor*.

† See § 1 (c) above.—*Editor*.

In the first volume of *Hmannan*, it is said that the Crown Prince of Tagoung went ahunting and killed a wild boar and lived as a hermit at the place where the boar was killed and that a doe having been conceived by licking the place where he discharged his urine gave birth to Bedayi.

12. Historical
Parallels.

The *Dhaññawatti Arakan* history says that while king Ajjuna the Sakiyan, king of Kapila-wut was living as a hermit, he got a son called Marayu by a female sambhur named Indamaru.

Pakinnakadipani Kyan by U Kyaw Dun says that Mararu was born of the female Sambhur, Inamaru. It looks as though the Arakanese account was made in emulation of the Burmese story. But there is no doubt of the birth of a human being from a female deer, as similar occurrences may be read in *Alambusa* and *Nilini Jatakas*, and as it fulfils one of the eight constituents of conception as given in *Sāratthadīpanī Tikā*.

The *Tavoy History* says that a son Shin Zaw and a daughter Shin Zan were born to a fish which drank the urine discharged into a lake by the hermit Govinda at Yanan Mountain. This also seems to be the result of emulation with the Burmese and Arakanese accounts. But in fishes conception takes place in two rows of eggs, each containing an innumerable number of eggs and a fish therefore cannot conceive a human embryo, which makes emulation all the more probable.

Moreover, according to the Talaing History a hermit gave the Talaing name Mikamu, the Burmese name Milamu, to the child born of a *lamu* flower.

Again the chief Queen of King Thamala is known in Talaing as ကွမ်းတိုင်, in Burmese as Lady Yellow Pumpkin because she was conceived by and born of a Yellow pumpkin flower.

According to one history when the king chased her, she hid herself among yellow and white pumpkin creepers, when the king's attendants finding her shouted နို့တိုက်မိ in Talaing which means Lady Pumpkin.

It is therefore probable that Lady Yellow Pumpkin and Lady Lamu are names given to the ladies obtained from the yellow pumpkin bush and the *lamu* forest after the precedents of Udumbara Queen obtained on the Sycamore tree according to the *Umanāga Jataka*, of Queen Asoka-mala obtained on the Asoka tree according to *Mahāvamsa* and of Weluwati obtained from a bamboo forest according to the Pagan history. It should be remembered, however, that according to Nipata, Queen Paduma was so called because she was born of a lotus flower.

13. King Kya-
swa's song of
ecstasy.

Paññavā Silasampanno
Natthi na me na vijjati

This is the song, which being difficult the first Maung Daung would leave to the ingenuity of historians. It, however, is a matter for students of Pīṭaka. It is easy, yet difficult. Pagan Sayadaw, U Nana, of King Mindon's reign translates as follows:

"There is no one learned like me; it is not that there exists no one endowed with virtue like me."

But U Khe of Naunggyi-aing monastery above Alon translates:

"There is no one learned like me; there exists no one endowed with virtue like me." A book written by Ye-sa-gyo Sayadaw, U Varasambodhi, who was displeased with the version of U Khe is known to be extant.

Some dates given by the *Paleiksa-Egyin* and *Maniratanapon* do not

14. Disagree- agree with those of the *Hmannan* but agree with those of
ment of dates. the *Mahayasawingyi* by Maung Kala.

Maniratanapon was written in the reign of Mingyi Swa Saw Ke, *Paleiksa-Egyin* in the reign of Singu-min of the Konbaung dynasty; *Hmannan* was written in the reign of Bagyidaw by royal order by monks and learned ministers after consulting various inscriptions, Mawguns, Egyins, and histories and is a late compilation.

Hmannan Mahayasawindawgyi especially on the Thayet-min and Nyaung yan min dynasties, *Dhaññarawati Ayedawpon* especially on the wise sayings, Ayedawpons of Rajadhirit, *Nyaung yan mintaya*, *Hanthawaddy Sinbyushin Mintaya*, *Rammadhipati min*, *Alaungmintayagyi* are especially noted for elegant diction, royal utterances and sayings of wise ministers.

Notes. နှိုင်းယှဉ် means to compare by the standard of excellence, whether a thing is superior or inferior, &c. နှိုင်းရှု၍ means to compare with a view to consider and decide whether a thing is true or false, right or wrong, suitable or unsuitable, becoming or unbecoming, probable or improbable, &c.

—Editor.]

ယခုလောက၌အမှတ်အသားပြုလုပ်၍၊ ပြောဆိုသုံးစွဲကြသော။

ရာဇဝင် ၄ မျိုးဟူသည့်အကြောင်း။

၁။ (က)ကမ္ဘည်းကျောက်စာ-ရာဇဝင်။ (ခ) မင်း၏ အလိုတော်အတိုင်း။ ပညာရှိတို့၏ ရင်ရေးသားရသောရာဇဝင်။ (ဂ) ပဇာတ်ရာဇဝင်။ (ဃ) သတင်း သည်တို့ဖတ်သတင်းကျင်းပ-ကပြကြသောရာဇဝင်။ ဟူ၍-၄-မျိုး ယှိပေကြောင်း။ ယင်းသည့်ရာဇဝင်-၄-မျိုးတို့တွင်။

(က) အချက်။ ကမ္ဘည်းကျောက်စာရာဇဝင်မှာ။ ရှေးအခါက။ မင်းမှူးမတ်။ ရဟန်းပညာရှိ လူပညာရှိတို့သည်။ နောင်လာအများမှတ်သားနာယူဘို့ရာ။ သဘောအဓိပ္ပာယ်အကြောင်းကုန်ရှိရာ။ ရှေးစကားအတိုင်း။ အချိုးအစွဲ-အခြောက်အမြင့်မပါဝဲ။ ကမ္ဘည်းကျောက်စာထိုးမှတ်စီရင်တော်မူခဲ့ သဖြင့်။ ထိုကမ္ဘည်းကျောက်စာ။ ရာဇဝင်များကို။ ပညာရှိတို့ မှားစွာအလေးမူကြသည်အတိုင်း။ လိုက်နာမှတ်သားကြရန်သင့်လှပေကြောင်း။

(ခ) အချက်။ ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်တို့၏ အလိုတော်အတိုင်း။ ပညာရှိတို့ရေးသားစီရင်ရသော ရာဇဝင်မှာ။ မင်း၏ အကြိုက်။ အလိုလိုက်၍။ ရာဇပြစ်ဒဏ်လွှတ်ကင်းအောင် ရေးသားစီရင်ရသော ကြောင့်။ အကျိုးအကြောင်း-အမှားအမှန်ကိုကုန်စင်အောင်မဖော်ပြရသည့်အတွက်။ မင်းတပါး၏။

လက်ထက်တွင်။ အဖြစ်အပျက်ယှိသမျှကို။ အပြည့်အစုံမသိရပေ။ အချိုးအမြှောက်သာ အားကြီး လျက်ယှိပေကြောင်း။

ထို့ကြောင့်အချို့သောပညာယှိတို့က။ မင်း၏အလိုတော်ယှိသည်ကို ရေးသားရသောရာဇဝင်သည်ကား။ အကြားများသည်ဟုမိန့်ဆိုကြလေသည်။

(ဂ) အချက်။ ပဇာတ်ရာဇဝင်မှာ။ မဟုတ်သကဲ့သို့-ပိုမိုရှုထင်ပြောဆိုခြင်းဖြစ်၍။ ကား-သည် ဟုပညာယှိတို့မိန့်ဆိုကြကုန်သည်။

ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ကိုစိုးစံတော်မူသော။ ရာဇာဓိရာဇ်မင်း၏။ သွားတော်-ရှင်စောပု-ကို။ အင်းဝမြို့တွင်-ဆင်ဖြူရှင်-သီဟသူက။ မိဖုရား အဖြစ်နှင့် ချီးမြှောက်ထားရာမှ။

အကြောင်းသော်ကား။ ဓမ္မဓရ။ ဓမ္မညာဏ။ ရဟန်း-၂ -ပါးတို့အကြံအစည်နှင့်။ လွှေကိုစီရင်ရာ။ လွှေဦးခေါင်းတွင်။ အင်းတချပ်။ လွှေဝမ်းတွင်အင်းတချပ်။ လွှေပဲ့တွင်-အင်းတချပ်- ကုမိထားပြီးလျှင်။ ရှင်စောပုနှင့်တကွအခြေအရံတို့ပါ။ ဓမ္မဓရ-ကပဲ့။ ဓမ္မညာဏက-ဦးကနေ၍။ အင်းဝမြို့မှတိတ်တဆိတ်စုန်ဆင်းထွက်ပြေးလာကြရာ။ ပဌမ-အစောင့်ကင်းက။ တားမြစ်သည့်အခါ။ လွှေဦးတွင်ထားသောအင်းကို လှန်လိုက်လျှင်။ လွှေဦးကြီးဖြစ်၍။ ကင်းကမတားဆီးနိုင်။ ဒုတိယကင်းကိုရောက်ပြန်သောအခါ။ လွှေဝမ်းမြို့ကထားသောအင်းကိုလှန်ပြန်ရာ။ လွှေဝါကြီးဖြစ်၍။ ကင်းကမတားဆီးနိုင်။ တတိယကင်းကိုတဖန်ရောက်သောအခါ။ လွှေပဲ့မြို့ကထားသော အင်းကိုလှန်ပြန်ရာ။ လွှေမိမ်းကြီးဖြစ်၍။ ကင်းကမတားဆီးနိုင်သဖြင့်။ မြို့နယ်မှလွတ်ကင်းသောကြောင့်။ ဆွေကုန်းနေတည်းခိုသောအရာပိုက်။ မြို့မင်းတို့တေးရန်ကင်းသည့်အတွက်။ ရန်ကင်းစံရာတွင်ကြောင်းကို။ ပဇာတ်ရာဇဝင်တို့ကပြောဆိုချက်ဖြစ်သည်။ ပဇာတ်ရာဇဝင်အရ။ ရှေးက-ဇာတ်ရုပ်သေးနှင့်တယောသမားများပြောဆိုအတိုင်းကြလေသည်။

အကယ်၍။ အင်းတန်းခိုးယှိပါက။ လွှေကိုလူအများမမြင်နိုင်အောင် ပြုလုပ်သွားရန် သင့်သည်။ လွှေဦး-လွှေဝါ-လွှေမိမ်းဖြစ်ရုံနှင့်။ အစောင့်ကင်းကမတားမြစ်ပဲမနေနိုင်။ အမှန်တားမြစ်နိုင်ရမည်ဟုဆင်ခြင်ရန်သင့်ပါသည်။

စဉ်းစားရန်မှာ။ ရှေးရှေးကုန်သောမင်းအဆက်-ဆက်တို့သည်။ ရဟန်းသာမဏေများစီးလာသောလွှေကိုမတားမြစ်ရဟူ။ အမိန့်တော်ထုတ်ပြန်ထားတော်မူသောထုံးယှိလေသည်။ ဓမ္မဓရ-ဓမ္မညာဏ-တို့သည်ကား။ ရဟန်းအဖြစ်နှင့်ပါလာသောကြောင့်။ အစောင့်ကင်းက-တားမြစ်နိုင်မည်မဟုတ်ချေ။

၎င်းပြင်။ ကုန်းဘောင်ဆက်။ မိုးတော်မင်းကြားကြီး၏။ မြေးတော်။ ရတနာပူရစတုတ္ထမြို့တည်။ တကြီးတော်မင်းကြားကြီး၏။ ဘိသိက်ခံသောမိဖုရားကြီးကား။ အမျိုးအမျိုးမစစ်။ ရေဦးမြို့။ ဗလံခုံသူ-ငါးမိမ်းသည်။ မယ်နွဲ့-ဟုပြောဆိုကြသည်။ ၎င်းမယ်နွဲ့-အမရပူရမြို့။ မြောက်ပြင်တံခါးဗိုလ်အိမ်တွင်ခိုခဲ့၍။ ဖက်မိမ်း-ဆေးလိပ်ရောင်းချနေရာ။ မယ်နွဲ့-ဝတ်သောထမီကိုနေလှမ်းထားရာမှ။ လေပွေတိုက်ခပ်ယူဆောင်၍။ အမရပူရ-နန်းတော်ပြဿာဒ်များတွင် ရစ်ပတ်လှက်နေသည်။ ဘုန်းကံကြီးသူဖြစ်၍။ မိဖုရားကြီးဖြစ်ပေသည်ဟု။ ပဇာတ်ရာဇဝင်ပြောဆိုကြလေသည်။

ရေမြေကို အစိုးရသောမင်း၏။ စံတော်မူရာ။ နန်းတော်ပြဿာဒ်ကို။ ယုတ်ညံ့သောမိန်းမ၏။ ထမီသည်။ လေတိုက်ရာပါသွား၍။ ရစ်ပတ်နေသည်ဟု အမှန်ဖြစ်

စဉ်းစားဆင်ခြင်ရန်မှာ။ ချေလျှင်။ မင်း၏။ ဘုန်းကံညံ့ရာရောက်ချေမည်။ သို့ကြောင့် ဤပဇာတ်ရာဇဝင် စကားသည်လည်း။ ကား-သည်ဟုမှတ်သင့်သည်။

(ဃ) အချက်။ ရှင်စောပုနှင့်ဓမ္မဓမ္မတို့မင်းသည်။ ယောက္ခမနှင့်သမက်ဖြစ်လျက်။ လင်မယားပြုလုပ်၍။ အလွမ်းအဆွေးနှင့်မငိုသင့်တဲ့နေရာတွင်ပို၍။ ဇာတ်ခင်း

ဇာတ်ရာဇဝင်ကား။ က-ပြု-ကြလေသည်။

၎င်းပြင်။ ငမိုးရိတ်မိကျောင်းအရိုးကို။ မယားဖြစ်သူ-မအာပွင့်က။ ကျောက်များနှင့်ပိုင်း၍။ တည်ထားသောကြောင့်။ ကျောက်ပိုင်းဘုရားဖြစ်သည်ဟု။ အလွမ်းအဆွေးအငိုအနွဲ့ဇာတ်ခင်းက-ပြုကြလေသည်။

တလိုင်းစကားကို နားမလည်၍။ ကျောက်ပိုင်းခေါ်ခြင်းသည်။ ယုတ္တိယှိအံ့ထင်၍။ အချို့
သျှင်လူတို့စွဲမှတ်ကြလေသည်။

ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ပိုင်း အွတ်ခေါ်သည်။ မြို့နယ်လို-ကျွန်ုပ်က-ဘုရား။ ပိုင်းကပုန်းသည်။ အွတ်က-ကစား
သည်။ အဓိပ္ပာယ်မှာ။ ကကုသန်ဘုရားနှင့်တိလူးတွေ၍။ အရှုံးအနိုင်-
တလိုင်းစကားမှာ။ ပုန်းတမ်း ကစားသော ဘုရား ဆိုလိုသည်။ အဗျားက-အွတ်-စကား
ပျောက်၍။ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့တွင်သည်။ ၎င်းကျွန်ုပ်တို့ကို။ ယခုသရော်မူ-ကျောက်ပိုင်းဘုရားဟု-ကျော်
စောထင်ယွားလေသည်။

၎င်းပြင်။ ပုဂံပြည်အာနန္ဒာဘုရားတွင်။ သားရွာကြွ ကိုစတေးသည့်အတွက်။ အမိဖြစ်သူက။
ပူဆွေး ငိုကြွေးသောအခါ။ စစ်ကိုင်းမြို့။ ဆင်မင်းဝတ်ဘုရားတည်ရာနှင့် ကျောက်ပန်ကန်ကြီးတူး
ဖော်ရာ။ သားကို-ဘုရားမှာစတေးသည်။ အမိအောင်မြို့ ကို-ကန်မှာစတေးသည်ဟု။ အလွမ်းအဆွေး
နှင့်အာတ်သတင်ကျင်းပ-ကပြကြသည်။

ဤအကြောင်းတို့ ကား။ သမိုင်း-ကျောက်စာ-ရာဇဝင်တို့၌ နှိုက်မဆိုချေ။ အချို့က-အာတ်ရာဇ
ဝင်အတိုင်းအမှန်ပေးဟုစွဲမြီးကြလေသည်။

၎င်းပြင်။ ပဲခူးမြို့ကိုစိုးစံတော်မူသော။ ရာဇာဓိရာဇ်သားတော်။ သတိုးဥပရာဇာကို။ မိထွေး
တော်ကပုန်းချောသဖြင့်။ ရေမှာချ၍ သတ်ကြောင်း။ ၎င်းမင်းသား-မသေမီ-ရွာမော်တော-ဘုရား
မှာ-ဆုတောင်းသောကြောင့်။ တပင်ရွာထီး ဖြစ်လာကြောင်းကို ဇာတ်ရာဇဝင်ခင်းကျင်း-က-ပြကြ
လေသည်။ ရာဇဝင်နှင့်-ရာဇာဓိရာဇ်အရေးတော်ပုံမှာမဆိုချေ။ ရာဇာဓိရာဇ်မင်းနှိုက်။ သတိုးဥပရာ
ဇာ-အမည်နှင့်သားမယ့်ကြောင်းထင်ယွားလေသည်။

ဤကား။ နှိုင်း၍ညှိရန်-အာတ်ရာဇဝင်တို့က။ မတော်မတည့်။ အလွမ်းအဆွေးနှင့်-က-ပြခြင်း
ကိုအများကြည့်ရှုရသော။ အာတ်ရာဇဝင်လွယ်ရာကိုသာရေးသားဖော်ပြလိုက်ပါသည်။

ထို့ကြောင့်။ ပညာယှိကြီးတို့သည်။ ရှေးက-ရေးမှတ်မိုက်ထူထားသော။ ကမ္ဘာဦးကျောက်စာ။
ရာဇဝင်ကိုသာ-အလေးပြုကြလေသည်။

မင်း၏အလိုအတိုင်းရေးသားရသောရာဇဝင်မှာ။ အချိုးအမြောက်အသိုင်းအကြားများ၍။
ရာဇဝင်ကြောင်းမှတ်သားရန်အရေး-မပါယှိလေသည်။

ပဇာတ်ရာဇဝင်မှာ။ ယှိဟောင်းရာဇဝင်တို့ထက်။ အသစ်ပိုမို ချွေထွင် ပြောဆိုခြင်းကြောင့်။
ကား-အားကြီးသည်ဟုမှတ်ရမည်။

အာတ်ရာဇဝင်မှာ။ ရာဇဝင်ကြောင်းအတိုင်းမဟုတ်။ တိုင်းပြည်နှင့်မင်းကိုအတည်ပြောပြ
၍။ အလွမ်းအဆွေးနှင့်မဟုတ်ထာကိုကျင်းပ-က-ပြကြသောကြောင့်။ ရာဇဝင်ဇာတ်သည်ဟုယူမှတ်
ရန်သင့်လေသည်။

(အထက်ကဖော်ပြချက်တို့သည်ကား။ နှိုင်း၍ညှိရန်ဖြစ်လေသည်။)

၂။ ။ အမရပူရ-ပဌမမြို့တည်။ မိုးတော်မင်းကြားကြီးသည်။ မင်းသားဖြစ်စဉ်အခါက။ တူ
ရာဇဝင်နှင့် မမော် မပြရပဲ။ တော်မောင်မောင်ခေါ်။ တောင်းကားစား။ ထီးနန်းကိုစိုးစံတဲ့အခါ။ မိုး
မင်း၏ အမိန့်တော်နှင့် ခြွင်းချန် တော်မင်းကြားကြီး၏ ညီတော်။ ပင်းတလဲမင်းသားက။ နောင်တော်-
ထားရခြင်းအကြောင်း။ ငမောင်တို့။ ယခု အခါ-ကျန်တော်တို့ကို-ကျော်၍။ ဗုံးလွှမ်းနေတာ။
ကြည့်နေသည်လားဟုပြောရာ။ မိုးတော်က။ ငမောင်ဗုံးလွှမ်းနေသည်ကို။ ညီခင်မတတ်နိုင်ဘူးလား
ဟုမေးတော်မူသည်ကို။ ညီခင်-တတ်နိုင်ပါ၍။ နောင်တော်ထီးနန်းကိုရလျှင်။ ညီခင်ကို မည်ကဲ့သို့
ထားမည်လဲဟုမေးရာ။ မိုးတော်က။ အစ်ကိုနန်းစံ။ ညီနန်းရံပေါ့ကွယ်ဟု-မိန့်ချက်အရ။ ပင်းတလဲ
မင်းသားသည်။ အမှတ်မဲ့နန်းတော်သို့ဝင်ပြီးလျှင်။ တောင်းကားစားမင်းကိုလုပ်ကြံ၍။ ကံကုန်ပြီး
နောက်။ မိုးတော်ကို-ပင်းတလဲမင်းက-နန်းအပီ-တင်မြှောက်လေသည်။

နောက်ပင်းတလဲမင်းက။ အထက်က-ကတိယှိရင်းအတိုင်း။ အိမ်ရှေ့အရာကိုအကြိမ်ကြိမ်
တောင်းရာ။ မိုးတော်မင်းကြားက။ ညီမောင်ငါ့မှာ-သားတော်ကြီးတွေများလျက်ဖြစ်၍။ အိမ်ရှေ့အ

ရာကိုမပေးနိုင်ကြောင်းမိန့်တော်မူရာ။ပင်းတလဲးမင်းက၊ငါ့ကြောင့်နောင်တော်နန်းကိုရသည်။ကျေးဇူးကိုမသိတတ်။ သစ္စာမယှိသူတယောက် ဖြစ်သည်ဟု။ မိတ်နှိုက်အမှတ်ထားပြီးလျှင်။ တနေ့သန့်က-ဖိုးတော်မင်းကြား-ဆင်စီး၍၊ မြို့ပြင်သို့ထွက်တော်မူသည့်အခါ။ ပင်းတလဲးမင်းသည်ကွယ်ရာကချောင်း၍ ။ သွတ်နှင့်ပစ်ရာ။ ဖိုးတော်မင်းကြား၏-နံဘေးနှင့် လက်ကြား-ရှိုင်းအောက်ကို။ ကျည်ဆန်ဝင်ထွက်သွားလေသည်။ ဖိုးတော်မင်းကြားကိုတစုံတရာမထိ-မမှန်ယှိလေသည်။

ဤအခါ-နောက်ပါအမှုထမ်းတို့ဝန်းဝိုင်းလိုက်လံ-ဖမ်းဆီးကြရာ။ မိလေသဖြင့်။ ညီတော်ပင်းတလဲးမင်းသား ဖြစ်ကြောင်းကို လျှောက်တင် ကြရာ။ ဖိုးတော်မင်းကြားက။ ညီဖြစ်သော်လည်း-ထောက်ညှာစရာမယှိ။ သွားမည်းတိုင်းလမ်းအတိုင်းစီရင်ရမည်ဟု အမိန့်တော်နှင့်။ ပင်းတလဲးမင်းသားကိုရေမှာချ၍ သတ်လေသည်။

ယင်းသည်အကြောင်းကိုငါတို့လက်ထက်-အဖြစ်အပျက်မှန်သမျှ။ ရှုစင်တွင်မတင်ရဟူ။ ဖိုးတော်မင်းကြားကြီးမိန့်တော်မူချက်အရ။ ကုန်းဘောင်ဆက်မဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီးနှိုက်။ ထုတ်ဖော်၍၊ မပြရချေ။ မြင်းချန်ထားရလေကြောင်းကို။ ဘုံကျော် ဆရာတော်ဘုရားကြီး မိန့်ဆိုတော်မူသော။ မှတ်သားချက်ပရပိုက်ကိုဖတ်ရဘူးသည်။

(ဤကားနှိုင်း၍ညွှန်ရန်အချက်ဖြစ်သည်။)

၃။ ။ မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီး-ပဌမတွဲတွင်။ ပုဂံပြည်ကိုမိုးစံတော်မူသော။ နော်ရသက္ကရာဇ် အမှတ် အသားမ ထာမင်းစောသည်။ နန်းတက်သောနှစ်နှင့်။ နန်းကျသောနှစ်သာလျှင် ဖော်ပြသည့်အကြောင်း။ ထင်ယွားလေသည်။

- (၁) မျက်နှာဂဏန်း-၂ ၈၁-တရုပ်ပြည်သို့။ စွယ်တော်ပင့်သွားသောနှစ်။
- (၂) မျက်နှာဂဏန်း-၂ ၇၆-သထုံပြည်ကိုထိုက်သောနှစ်။
- (၃) မျက်နှာဂဏန်း-၂ ၆၉-သွင်အရဟံ-ပုဂံပြည်ကိုရောက်သောနှစ်။
- (၄) မျက်နှာဂဏန်း-၂ ၉၃-သီဟိုဠ်ကျွန်းသို့စွယ်တော်တောင်းစေလွှတ်သောနှစ်။
- (၅) မျက်နှာဂဏန်း-၃၀၂-တင်လားမြို့သို့သွား၍၊ စက်ရုပ်များထားသောနှစ်။
- (၆) မျက်နှာဂဏန်း-၂ ၈၉-ရက္ခိုင့်ပြည်သို့သင်းကျစ်တော်ပင့်-သွားသောနှစ်။
- (၇) မျက်နှာဂဏန်း-၂ ၈၆-ရှင်စွန်လှကို-ယှံးပြည်ကဆက်သွာသောနှစ်။

ယင်းသည့်ဖော်ပြသောအချက်သည်အရေးကြီးသောအချက်ဖြစ်ပါလျက်။ သက္ကရာဇ်-ထင်ယွားအောင်မဖော်မပြသည့်အတွက်။ အသေအချာ-သိမှတ်ဖို့ရာ-အလွန်ခဲးယဉ်းခြင်းယှိလေသည်။

၎င်းပြင်။ ဥဿာဝဲးကူးမင်းက။ စစ်ကူတောင်း၍၊ နော်ရထာမင်းစောသည်။ လူ့စွမ်းကောင်းများနှင့်။ ဥဿာဝဲးကူးသို့စစ်ချီသောနှစ်မပါ။ ဥဿာဝဲးကူးမင်း၏၊ အမည်ကိုလည်း မဖော်မပြယှိလေသည်။ မျက်နှာဂဏန်း-၂ ၉၇-။

၎င်းပြင်။ နော်ရထာမင်းစောသည်။ မိတ္ထိလာကန်တော်ကို။ ဆည်းဖို့ပြုပြင်ကြောင်းကို။ သက္ကရာဇ်နှင့်တကွ။ ရာဇဝင်တွင်ထင်ယွားအောင်မဖော်မပြချေ။ ကပိလက္ခဏာ-ဗိပနီကျမ်းမျက်နှာ-၂ ၈၁-တွင်။ အသေအချာ-သက္ကရာဇ်-၄၁၆-ခုတန်းခူးလပြည့်စနေနေ့ဟူ၍။ မိတ္ထိလာကန်သမိုင်းတွင်အကျယ်ဆိုကြောင်းဖော်ပြလျက်ယှိချေသည်။

မဏိရတနာပုံစံကျမ်းတွင်။ သက္ကရာဇ်-၇၃၀-ပြည့်နှစ်။ အင်းဝဘုရင်-မင်းကြီးစွာစော်ကဲသည်။ မိတ္ထိလာကန်တော်ကို။ ဆည်ဖို့ရန်လာရောက်သည့်အခါ။ မေးတော်မူ၍-ဖိုးရာဇာလျှောက်ထားချက်မှာ။ အရှင်ဘေးလောင်းတော် ပုဂံပြည့်ရှင်-နော်ရထာမင်းစောသည်-ကန်တော်ကိုဆည်ဖို့ကြောင်းပါယှိလေသည်။

မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီး-ပဌမတွဲ။ မျက်နှာဂဏန်း-၄၅၉-တွင်။ ပေါက်ကန်ပြည့်ရှင်-နရပတိစည်သူမင်းကြီး။ မိတ္ထိလာကန်တော်ကို ဆည်ဖို့ရန်ရောက်ကြောင်းဖြင့်။ မင်းကြီးစွာစော်ကဲသို့။ ဖိုးရာဇာလျှောက်ထားကြောင်းဖော်ပြလျက်ယှိလေသည်။

(ဤကားနှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်အချက်များဖြစ်လေသည်။)

၄။ ။ မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇဝင်-ဒုတိယတွဲတွင် မှက်နှာ-၂၀၂-ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ကို စိုးစံတော်
ရာဇဝင်ချင်းအဆိုမညီသည့် မူသော။ သုရှင်တကာ-ရွတ်ပိ-မင်းသည်။ တပင်ရွှေထီးမင်း-အရေး
အကြောင်း။ ကြောင့်။ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့မှ ရွှေပြောင်း၍။ ကျတ်မော်မြို့ကိုအသစ်ပြု
လုပ်နေကြောင်း-အဆိုရှိသည်။

မုံရွေးသုတေသီစီရင်သော။ ၁၂၄၄-ခုနှစ်-ရန်ကုန်မြို့-မင်္ဂလာကျော်ထင် စာပုံနှိပ်တိုက်က
ရိုက်သော။ ရာဇဇာဝါဒ-ကျမ်းမှတ်နှာ-၃၀၀-တွင်၊ သုရှင်တကာရွတ်ပိ-မင်းသည်။ ကျောက်မော်မြို့
ကိုအသစ်လုပ်၍၊ နေကြောင်းကို-အဆိုရှိသည်။

မှန်နန်းရာဇဝင်ဒုတိယတွဲမှတ်နှာ-၂၀၉ တွင်။ သုရှင်တကာ ရွတ်ပိ-မင်းသည်။ အင်္ဂပူတွင်
ကံကုန်ကြောင်း-အဆိုရှိသည်။

အထက်ပါအချက်တို့ကို။ ကျတ်မော်မြို့သည်-မထင်ယှား။ ကျောက်မော်မြို့သည် ထင်ယှား
လျက်ရှိသည်။ ကျတ်မော်မြို့သည်။ မြို့မာလို-အစွန်းဘုရား-ဟုခေါ်သည်။ အချို့တလိုင်းဘုန်းတော်
ကြီးများက။ မော်ပိ-ကိုဆိုလိုသည်ဟု-မိန့်တော်မူကြသည်။

ကျောက်မော်မြို့ကား။ ပေါင်းလောင်းမြစ် အရှေ့ဘက်တွင်တည်လျက်ရှိကြောင်း။ ဟံသာဝ
တီစစ်တမ်းတွင်-အဆိုရှိသည်။

သုရှင်တကာရွတ်ပိမင်းသည်။ အင်္ဂပူတပ်တွင်။ ကံကုန်ကြောင်းယုတ္တိရှိသည်။ ညောင်တုန်းမြို့
နယ်အတွင်းရှိ။ အင်္ဂပူအင်း-အင်္ဂပူရွာဟူ၍၊ အထင်အယှားရှိလေသည်။ ၎င်းအင်္ဂပူအရပ်တွင်။
အင်းချိန်ကျ၍။ အင်းနတ် တင်မြှောက် ကြသော အခါ။ မိုးရွတ်ပိ- အရှင်ကြီးဟု-ခေါ်ဝေါ်တင်
မြှောက်ကြရသည်။ ယင်းသည့်အင်းနတ်ကြီး-မိုးရွတ်ပိ-ကို။ သုရှင်တကာရွတ်ပိ-မင်းဖြစ်သည်ဟု-
တသိုင်းလူမျိုးတို့-အစွဲ-အလန်း-ယှိကြလေသည်။

(ဤကားနှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်အချက်ဖြစ်သတည်း။)

၅။ ။ မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီးပဌမတွဲတွင်။ မိဖုရားနန်းခမ်း-မောင်နှမ-နန်းလှကြ
သရေ ဆော့ရာရှိ တည်ခြင်း ရာ။ နှမက-နိုင်လေ၏။ နှမလည်းသက္ကအင်းအရပ်တွင် ရွာပြု၍၊ အ
အကြောင်း။ လုံး အရင်းနှင့် နေလေ၏။ ၎င်းသက္ကအင်းရှိ ကံ နေကုန်သော-လူအ
ပေါင်းတို့သည်။ တကောင်းမင်း၏၊ ယောက်ဖတော်ဖြစ်သော။ ရှင်ရသေ့အား-ဘုရားကဲ့သို့ကိုးကွယ်
ဖို့ရံပြုကြကုန်၏။-ဟုဆိုသည်။

တဖန်-ပြုမိဖုရားနန်းခမ်းသည်ကား။ တကောင်းသက္ကသာကီဝင်မင်းမျိုးတည်း။ ထို-ကြောင့်-
ထိုမိဖုရားကိုအစွဲပြု၍။ သက္ကအင်းတွင်လေသည်-ဟုဆိုပြန်သည်။

ထိုမိဖုရားကိုအစွဲပြု၍။ သက္ကအင်းခေါ်တွင်လျှင်။ အထက်က-မိဖုရားသည်။ သက္ကအင်းအ
ရပ်တွင်ရွာပြုသည်ဆိုရာရှိ။ မိဖုရားရွာမပြုမီက။ သက္ကအင်းအမည်ပေါ်ပေါက်လျက်ရှိနေသည်
ဟု-နှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်ဖြစ်ချေသည်။

ဗုဒ္ဓကုသဝသဝါဒဝိနိစ္ဆယကျမ်းကလည်း။ မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီးအမိန့်အတိုင်း
နာယူချေသည်။

မြို့မာပြည်။ ကမ္ဘည်းကျောက်စာရုံးစာရေးကြီးဦးဇေ-စီရင်သော။ ကဗျတ္တမန္တိကာ-ကျမ်းရှိ။
မိဖုရားနန်းခမ်း-မူကား။ မိမိအလုံးအရင်းနှင့်တကွ။ သက္ကအင်းသို့ပြောင်း၍၊ နေလေ၏။ ထိုသက္က
သာကီဝင်မင်းမျိုးပြုမိဖုရားနေသောကြောင့်။ ထိုအရပ်ကို-သက္ကအင်းဟု တွင်လေသတည်းဟု-အ
ဆိုရှိသည်။

ဤကဲ့သို့ဖော်ပြခြင်းသည်ကား။ မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီး-အမိန့်အတိုင်း နာယူရခြင်း
ဖြစ်သည်။

စဉ်ကူးမင်း ရှေ့နားတော်သွင်း။ ပလိပ်စားဇေးချင်း-ရှေးကျသော ပေစာမူဟောင်း တစောင်တွင်။ ။တူနှင့်သွီး။ထိမ်းမြားပြီးသော်။ချိန်နီးရပ်တွင်း။သကြားအင်းဝယ်။မယွင်းဖြောင့်တည့်။ခြောက်ဆယ်ပြည့်တွင်။ ပတ်လှည့်မြို့ရွာ။ မိုးအုပ်ကာလျှင်။မဟာစူဠ။သမ္ဘဝဟူ။ ။စပ်ဆိုလေသည်။၎င်းဇေးချင်းအလို-သကြား-အင်းဆိုလိုသည်။

ရာဇဝင်ချုပ်တွင်။ ။သကြားအင်းအလယ်။ခြောက်ဆယ်သောသာသနာတွင်။မြို့ရွာကို မိုးအုပ်လျက်။အချုပ်အချာ။ မဟာသမ္ဘဝ။စူဠသမ္ဘဝ-တို့သည်။ အာဒိကမ္ဘိက။အစ-မင်းစစ်။ဖြစ်တော်မူ၏။ဟု-အဆိုရှိသည်။

ယင်းသည်ပလိပ်စားဇေးချင်းနှင့် ရာဇဝင်ချုပ်တို့သည်ကား။ သကြားအင်းကို-သတောကျဟန်တူချေသည်။ ၎င်းအင်းကိုသကြားမင်းဖန်ဆင်းသောအင်းတူဆိုလျှင်လည်း။ ငြင်းပယ်ရန်မယ့်ဟု-နှိုင်းရှည့်ထိုက်လှပေသည်။

မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီးပဌမတွဲ။ ဓုတ်နှာ-၁၉၀-၁၉၁-တွင်။မြို့တည်သည့်-သာသနာနှစ်ကိုမဆို။မဟာသမ္ဘဝနှင့်။ သွီးတော်-တေဒါရီ-ကို။ သာသနာတော်သက္ကရာဇ်-ခြောက်ဆယ်ပြည့်တွင်။စံတက်တော်မူလေ၏။ဟု-အဆိုရှိသည်။

ပလိပ်စားဇေးချင်းနှင့်ရာဇဝင်ချုပ်။မန္တမြို့ဝန်ထောက်မင်းဦးကျော်ထွန်းစီရင်သော။ပကိဏ္ဍကဒိပဏီ ကျမ်း။ဗုဒ္ဓကုလဝံသဝိဝါဒဝိနိစ္ဆယကျမ်းတို့က။သက္ကရာဇ်-ခြောက်ဆယ်ပြည့်တွင်။မြို့ရွာကိုအုပ်စိုးသည်ဟု-ဆိုချေသည်။ဤလည်းနှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်ဖြစ်သည်။

သာသနာလင်္ကာရတွင်။ ။သာသနာသက္ကရာဇ်-၁၀၁-ခုနှစ်ယှိသောအခါ။သရေခေတ္တရာမြို့ကို။ဗုဒ္ဓတောင်မင်းကြီးတည်ကြောင်းကို-ဆိုချေသည်။

ရာဇာသိဃီမြို့တည်။ အလောင်းမင်းကြီးကြီးကိုးကွယ်တော်မူသော။ မဟာအာတုလဓမ္မရာဇဂူရု-ဆရာတော်ဘုရားစီရင်သည်။ ရာဇဝင်အတိုကောက်တွင်။သရေခေတ္တရာမြို့တည်။ သာသနာနှစ်ကား။၁၀၀-ပြည့်နှစ်ဟု-ဖော်ပြမိန့်ဆိုချေသည်။

မြို့တည် သက္ကရာဇ် မညီယိုနေသည်ကို။ နှိုင်းရှည့်ရမည်မှာ။ အလောင်းမင်းကြီးကြီးကို ကွယ်သော။မဟာအာတုလဓမ္မရာဇဂူရု-ဆရာတော်ဘုရားကသက်တော်ကြီးသည်။

သာသနာလင်္ကာရစာတန်းကိုစီရင်သော။ အမရပူရ-ပဌမမြို့တည်။ ဖိုးတော်မင်းကြီးကြီးကိုးကွယ်တော် မူသော။ ပဌမ-မောင်းထောင်ကြီး-မင်းတိုင်ပင်အမတ် မဟာဓမ္မသင်္ကြက-အသက်ငယ်သည်။

သရေခေတ္တရာမြို့ရိုး ကျုံးမြောင်းသည်ကား။အက္ခေသုံးက္ခေယျကြောင်းကို။မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီး။ရာဇဝင်ချုပ်။ပလိပ်စားဇေးချင်းတို့က-မဆိုချေ။

တရားသူကြီးမင်းလက်ဝဲးသုန္ဒရ-အမတ်ကြီးစီရင်သော။ဝိနိစ္ဆယပကာသနီလင်္ကာတွင်။ ။စက္ကဝါမူရိ။အစချီသောပိုဒ်နှိုက်။ ။ဖိုးဦးနဂိုရ်။ တောင်စိမ်းညိုတွင်။ မိန့်ဆိုမြက်ကြား။ ဖျာဒိတ်ထား၍။ ။ရှေးဖျားဝံခင်း။ မြို့တည်ရင်းက။ မာန်တင်းမနုန့်။ စိတ်ကြမ်းရုန့်လည်း။ဂဠုန်ခွန်အား။ တောင်သံကြားတွင်။ နဂါးတုန်ခွေ။ သုံးကြိမ်ယွှေကြောင့်။ အက္ခေသုံးခွေ။ မြို့ဝန်းနေသည်။ သရေခေတ္တ။ ။ဟုစပ်ဆိုချေသည်။

အမိတ္တိယကား။ သရေခေတ္တရာမြို့သည်။ မြို့ဝိုင်းဖြစ်သည်။ နွားရေ-နှုန်းကြီးကို။မြို့နေရာ-အလယ်ဗဟိုစက်တိုင်တွင်ချည်၍။ နှုန်းကြီး အဆုံးအဖျားနှင့်။ အပိုင်းလှည့်ပတ်ရာ။ (၁) နွယ်ကျော်အင်း။ (၂) ငှက်ပျောတောအင်း။ (၃) ကနွန်းအင်း။ ၎င်းအင်းသုံးအင်းခံလျက်ယှိနေ၍။ အင်းကို-ချန်လှပ် ကွေ့ကောက်ယူပြီးလျှင်။ ကျုံးမြို့ရိုး-တူးဖော်-ခွဲလုပ်ရသောကြောင့်။ ကျုံးမြို့ရိုးသည်။အပိုင်း-မညီကြောင်းကို-ဆိုသည်။

နှုန်းကြီးသည်ကား။နွားရေနှုန်းကြီးဖြစ်၍။စနေနံဖြစ်သည်။၎င်းစနေနံကို။နဂါးဆိုလိုသည်။ အင်းသည်။တနင်္ဂနွေနံဖြစ်သည်။၎င်းတနင်္ဂနွေနံကို။ဂဠုန်-ဆိုလိုသည်။

မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇာဝင်တော်ကြီး ပဌမတွဲတွင်။ သရေခေတ္တရာ မြို့တည်ကြောင်း ဖော်ပြရာ နှိုက်။သကြားမင်းက-အလယ်စက်တိုင်ကိုတိုင်သည်။ နဂါးကလွှည့်ပတ်ရသည်။ ၎င်းနဂါးလွှည့် ပတ်သောအဝန်းအတွင်း။မြို့တည်ကြောင်းကိုဆိုသည်။

သရေနှန်းကြီးမဟုတ်။ ပကတိနဂါးကို ယူရမည်ဖြစ်ပါက။ ဘုန်းကံကြီးသော မင်းဖြစ်ပါ ပေသည်ဟု-ထင်မှတ်ရန်ဖြစ်ချေသည်။

(ဤကားနှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်အကြောင်းတည်း။)

၆။ ။သျှင်နာဂသိန်။မိလိန္ဒမင်းကြီးစံတော်မူသည့်။ ယောနကတိုင်း။ သာဂလ-ပြည်သည် ယောနကတိုင်းအကြောင်း။ ကား။ ။သာသနာလင်္ကာရစာတန်းမျက်နှာ-၃၇-၇၂-တွင်အဆို။ ယောနကတိုင်း။သာဂလပြည်သည်။ ယွန်းယွန်း-လဝ-ခမင်-လူမျိုးတို့ ၏။နေရာအရပ်ကိုဖော်ပြလေသည်။

ခန္တမြို့ဝန်ထောက်ဦးကျော်ထွန်းစီရင်သော။ ပကိဏ္ဏကဒိပဏီ ကျမ်းမျက်နှာ-၇၄-တွင်။ သံ လွင်ဖြစ်အနောက်မက်။စောလုံယွန်းပြည်။ယွန်းကြီးပြည်။ ဇင်းမယ်-ငါးဆွဲခုနစ်ခရိုင်။နိုင်ငံကျေးလက် သည်။ယောနကတိုင်းဖြစ်ကြောင်းသိအပ်၏။ဟု-ဆိုချေသည်။

သက္ကရာဇ်-၁၁၉၁-ခုနှစ်တွင်။ ပဌမ-မောင်းတောင်ကြီးစီရင်သော။ သာသနာဝိသုဒ္ဓိတန်း မျက်နှာ-၅၃-၅၄-တွင်။ ယွန်းယွန်းတို့နေသောအရပ်ကို။ ယောနကတိုင်း။သာဂလ-ပြည်။ မိလိန္ဒမင်း ကြီး။သျှင်နာဂသိန်တို့ယှိကြောင်းကို။အခိုင်အမာအကျယ်တဝင့်-ဖော်ပြလေသည်။

မိလိန္ဒပဌာဝတ္ထါနှိုက်။ ။အသျှင်အသာဂုတ္တ-မထေရ်က။ တပည့်-ရောဟဏ-ကိုခေါ်ရာ မလာသည့်အတွက်။ဖော်ပေးသည်မှာ။ငါ့ရှင်-ရောဟဏ။ ဟိမဝန္တာ-တောင်၏။အနားနှိုက်။ဂဇာဝိ လ-ပုံဏားရွာရှိသည်။ထိုရွာရှိ-သောဏှတ္တရ-ပုံဏားနေ၏။၎င်းပုံဏား၏။သားသည်။နာဂသေ န-သူငယ်ဖြစ်လတန်။ သင်သည်ထိုသူငယ်ကို။ပဋိသန္ဓေနေသည်မှ။ ဇွါး၍။ ခုနစ်နှစ်နှင့်။ ဆယ်လ လွန်အောင်။ပုံဏားအိမ်ထဲတွင်ခံဝင်၍။ နာဂသေန-သူငယ်ကို။လူ့တောင်မှထုတ်၍။သျှင်ပြုလေ ဟု။ မိန့်ဆိုသော-စကားကျကိုထောက်ဆသော်။

ဟိမဝန္တာသည်။အနောက်နိုင်ငံတွင်ယှိကြောင်းသိရသည်။ ယွန်းယွန်းတို့နေသောပြည်ရှိက်။ ပုံဏားမယှိကြောင်းကိုသိရသဖြင့်။ ယောနက-တိုင်း။ သာဂလ-ပြည်သည်။ အနောက်နိုင်ငံတွင်ယှိ သည်ဟု-ယူဆရန်သင့်သည်။

အထောက်ကား။ ။အနောက်နိုင်ငံတွင်။ကမ္ဘည်းကျောက်စာ-ဌာနက။ ကျောက်စာဝန်မင်း တူးဖော်ရှာဖွေရာ။ မိလိန္ဒမင်းကြီး၏။ကောင်းမှု။ သူ့ရားစေတီကမ္ဘည်းစာများ ထွေကြောင်းနှင့်။ မ ဟာမောမိသတင်းစာတွင်ဖော်ပြသည်ကိုတွေ့မြင်မှတ်သားရဘူးချေသည်။

ထို့ကြောင့်။မိလိန္ဒမင်းကြီးစံတော်မူသော။သာဂလ-ပြည်သည်။ ယွမ်း-ယွန်း-လဝ-ခမင်-တို့ နေထိုင်သောပြည်ရှိက်မယှိဟု-မှတ်ယူသင့်သည်။ အကယ်၍။သာဂလ-ပြည်ယှိပါမူကား။ ယခုတိုင် အမည်မဟောက်ဝဲတည်လျက်ယှိတန်ရာသည်ဟုမှတ်ယူရန်သင့်ချေသည်။

(ဤကားနှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်အချက်ဖြစ်သည်။)

၇။ ။ရာမညတိုင်းရှိက်။ဟံသာဝတီ-မဏ္ဍလ။မုတ္တမ-မဏ္ဍလ။ကုသိမ-မဏ္ဍလ-ဟူ၍။မဏ္ဍ လ-ဖွဲ့ခြင်း မှားသည့် အ လသုံးရပ်ပိုင်းခြားထားသည်ကို။ တလိုင်းရာဇာဝင်။ မြခွာရာဇာဝင်။ ကြောင်း။ သမိုင်းတို့ရှိက်။ထင်ယွားစွာဖော်ပြလျက်ရှိချေသည်။

ခန္တမြို့-ဝန်ထောက်မင်း-ဦးကျော်ထွန်း စီရင်သော။ ပကိဏ္ဏက ဒိပဏီ ကျမ်းမျက်နှာ-၆၀- တွင်။ဥက္ကလာပ-မဏ္ဍလ-ဟုဖော်ပြလျက်ရှိလေသည်။

ရှေးရာဇဝင်-သမိုင်းတို့ အဆိုအမိန့်နှင့်မညီခြားနားလေသည်။ အမှီအားထား။ ကိုးကားသော-ကမ္မည်းကျောက်စာ။ရာဇဝင်-သမိုင်း-ကျမ်းဂန်တို့ကို မဖော်မပြချေ။ အမှတ်အထင်လွှဲသည်ဟု-အထင်ယှိသည်။ ဥက္ကလာပ-သည်။ ဟံသာဝတီ-မဏ္ဍလ အတွင်းရှိက်။ တည်နေကြောင်း-ထင်ယှားလေသည်။

(ဤကားရှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်အချက်ဖြစ်သည်။)

မြတ်စွာဘုရားဒေသစာရိတြ ဂ။ ။တောင်ငူ သမိုင်း စာအုပ် မှတ်နှာ-၅-ရှိက်။ မြတ်စွာဘုရားသည်။ ရာမညတိုင်းနယ်။ ဥက္ကန်-သုံးဆယ်-သို့ရောက်ကြောင်းဖော်ပြသည်။

၎င်း အရပ်သို့ ရောက်ကြောင်းကို။ ရာဇဝင်-သာသနာ လင်္ကာရ တို့က-မဆိုချေ။ မြတ်စွာဘုရားသည်။ဧရာဝတီမြစ်အနောက်ဗက်။သုနာပရန္တတိုင်း။အရှေ့ဗက်-သုဝဏ္ဏဘုမ္မိတိုင်းတို့ကိုသာ။ဒေသစာရိတြရှိကြောင်းအဆိုပြုချေသည်။

(ယခုအင်းစိန်စီရင်စု-တိုက်ကြီးမြို့နယ်။) ဥက္ကန်-သုံးဆယ်-မြို့ရှိက်။ ပိဏ္ဍိက-သဌေးသား-အတ္ထိက။ဗတ္တိ-ညီနောင်တို့။ဘုရားနှင့်တွေ့ကြောင်းဖော်ပြသည်။

ပိဏ္ဍိက-သုဌေးသည်။ မည်သည့်မြို့က-သုဌေးဟုမဖော်မပြချေ။ ဤအကြောင်းကားရှုမော်တော-ဘုရားသမိုင်းနှင့်ဆန့်ကျင်လျက်ယှိနေသည်။

ရှုမော်တောသမိုင်း တစောင်အဆို။ ရာမညတိုင်း။ သုဓမ္မပုရိသထုံပြည်၏။ နိုင်ငံဖြစ်သော။သင်းပေါ-ဆိပ်ကမ်း-နိဂုံမိ-ရွာကြီး ရှိက်။ပိဏ္ဍိက-အမည်ယှိသော-သုဌေးသား။ စူဠာသာလ-မဟာသာလ-ကုန်သည်ညီနောင်။ ၂ -ယောက်တို့သည်။မဏ္ဍိမ-ဒေသသို့။ ကုန်ရောင်းသင်းပေါနှင့်သွားရာ။ဘုရားနှင့်တွေ့ကြောင်း-ဖော်ပြသည်။

သမိုင်းတစောင်အဆို။ဇိုင်းတူမြို့နေ-ပွဲမိကသစ်ဦးသား။ မဟာသာလ-စူဠာသာလ-ညီနောင် ၂ -ယောက်တို့သည်။ သင်းပေါ-နှင့်ကုန်သွားရာ။ ရာဇပြုဟ်ပြည်အနီး။ မကုဒု ပပ္ပတ-တောင်တွင်။ဘုရားနှင့်တွေ့ကြောင်း-ဖော်ပြသည်။

တောင်ငူသမိုင်း အဆိုအမိန့်သည်။ ယုတ္တိယှိခန့်မထင်-လိုက်နာမှတ်ယူ-ဘို့ကို ငြင်းပယ်သင့်သည်။

(ဤကားရှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်အချက်ဖြစ်သည်။)

ရှုမော်စောရာဇဝင်သမိုင်းစာအုပ်မှာ။ပိဏ္ဍိက-သုဌေးဆောက်သော။ ပြသာဒ်တန်ဆောင်းနှင့်။ မိဖုရားဆောက်သော။ ပြသာဒ်တန်ဆောင်းသည်တူသောကြောင့်။ တန်ဆောင်းတူမြို့ထု-ခေါ်တွင်ကြောင်း။ယခုဆောင်းတူမြို့တွင်လေသည်ဟုဆိုချေသည်။

ဘုရားစေတီကို။ ရှုသင်္ကန်းမွမ်းမံကပ်လှူကြရာ။ ဘုရားတဆူလုံး ရှုတုံးပကတိကဲ့သို့ယှိနေသည်ကိုအစွဲပြု၍။ရှုပေါသော-ဘုရားဟု-အမှားခေါ်ကြရာ။ ကာလလျား၍။ ယခုရှုမော်စောဘုရားတွင်ကြောင်းကို-ဖော်ပြသည်။

ဤကား။ရှုမော်စောရာဇဝင်သမိုင်းကိုစီရင်သောဆရာသည်။တလိုင်းစကားကိုမကျွမ်းကျင်၍။ မြွေစကားဖြစ်အောင်ဆွဲငင်ကြံစည်သောအရာသာဖြစ်သည်ဟုမှတ်ရမည်။

မူလတလိုင်းစကား။ဇိုင်းတူယံ။နောက်မိုင်းတူ။နောက်-ဇောင်းတူ-ဟူ၍။ယခုတွင်လေသည်။၎င်းကိုမြွေလိုဆိုလျှင်။သုံးပူသောနေရာ-ဆိုလိုသည်။

မူလရိုင်းတလိုင်းစကား။ကျိုက်မော်တာ။နောက်-ကျိုက်မူတာ။နောက်-မူတာ။နောက်-မော်တော။ရှုမော်တော။ယခုရှုမော်စော-ဟုထင်လျားလေသည်။မြွေလိုဆိုလျှင်။ ဘုရားရပ်တော်မူသောအင်္ဂုစွန်း-ဆိုလိုသည်။

(ဤကားနှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်ဖြစ်သည်။)

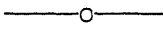
နှစ်မြို့ အမည်ကို တမြို့တည်း ဉ။ ။အကြောင်းကား။ ။စစ်ကိုင်းတမြို့၊ဇေယျပူရ-တမြို့ ဖြစ်အောင် ခေါ်တွင်ခြင်း အ ဖြစ်သည်။သူအချို့က။ဇေယျပူရ-စစ်ကိုင်း မြို့ဟုခေါ်ကြသည်။ ရာဇဝင်ကို-မကျမ်းသူတို့က။တမြို့တည်းစွဲမှတ်ရန်ဖြစ်ချေသည်။

စစ်ကိုင်းမြို့ကား။သက္ကရာဇ် ၆၄၇ ခုနှစ်တွင်သင်္ခယာစောယွမ်းတည်ရင်း။မင်းမြောက်ဆက်စံသောမြို့ဖြစ်သည်။ ၎င်းမြို့သည်။ သီဟပတိမင်းပြောက်ကြီးကောင်းမှု။ စည်းခုံကြီးအရှေ့စူးအရပ်။ရှာဥမင်တောင်အတွင်း။ခဲးတောင်အနီးတွင်တည်လျက်ရှိသည်။

ဇေယျပူရမြို့ကား။သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၂၂ ခုနှစ်။နန်းတက်တော်မူသော။ အလောင်းမင်းကြားကြီး၏သားတော်ကြီးသည်။မဟာမင်းလွှမ်းမင်းခေါင်ဘွဲ့ခံ။ငွေပုဒ်ကုန်၊နှောင့်ယှက်သည့်အရေးကို။ထင်တော်မူ၍။မြို့ဝန်းတာ ၇၃၀။တံခါး ၄ ဗျက်နှာ။ အုတ်ပေါင်း ကူးနှစ်တကွ။ ဇေယျပူရမြို့သမုတ်၍။ခံတော်မူသည်။

၎င်းမြို့သည်။ဧရာဝတီမြစ်၏။မြောက်ဖက်ကမ်းထိပ်နား။ ထူပါရုံစေတီတော်ကြီးနှင့်အလယ်ခြား။ တရားသဖြင့် ခံတော်မူဘူးသော။ မင်္ဂလာအိမ်တော်ရာတွင်။ မြို့တည်ကြောင်းကို။အောင်မြေလောကဘုရားကျောက်စာတွင်ဖော်ပြလေသည်။

(ဤကားနှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်အကြောင်းဖြစ်သည်။)



၁၀။ ။မဟာဝင်္ကနိတ်။ဗုဒ္ဓဂါမဏိ၊ မင်းကြီး၏။ဘိသိက်ခံမိဖုရားကြီးကား။အမျိုးအမည်ရာဇဝင် တွင် မဖော် မပြ သည့် ဂုဏ်၊ စသည်အကြောင်းကို။ ဖော်ပြခြင်းမရှိ၍။မိဖုရားကြီးအကြောင်း။ ကြောင်းကို။ သေချာစွာ မသိနိုင် ဖြစ်သည်။ မိဖုရား ကြီး၏ အကြောင်းကို။သိလို၍။အမေးရောက်ခဲ့သော်။ မဟာဝင်္ကနိတ်မှာမတွေ့ သောကြောင့်။ အဖြေခက်လိမ့်မည် ဖြစ်ပေကြောင်း။

၎င်းပြင်။အလောင်းမင်းကြားကြီးသည်ကား။ ပေါက်ကုန်ပြည်။မင်းဆက်မြူစောထီးမှ။မင်းပေါင်း ၄၇ဆက်မြောက်။မောင်စကြာရှင်၊နရပတိစည်သူ။မင်းကြီး၏။သွီးတော်ကျောင်တော်သည်မှ။တဆွဲမြောက်ဆက်မြောက်။ မင်းစစ်နိုင်သားတော်။ သီရိမဟာဓမ္မရာဇာ-မိဖုရား၊မဟာဒေဝီက။ အလောင်းမင်းကြားကြီးကိုပွားမြင်ကြောင်း။ ကုန်းတောင်ဆက်မဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီးဗျက်နှာ ၁၄ တွင်ဆိုသည်။ အလောင်းမင်းကြားကြီးအရေးတော်ပုံဗျက်နှာ ၅ တွင်။မယ်တော်အမည်ကို။မဖော်မပြဖြစ်ချေသည်။

ဗုဒ္ဓကုလဝံသဝိဝါဒဝိနိစ္ဆယကျမ်းဗျက်နှာ ၁၅၄ မှာ။ကုန်းဘောင်ဆက်မဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီး၏။နောက်လိုက်ပြုလုပ်ထားသည်။

ပါဠိဆရာ။ဆရာဇိန်ဂရေ၊၊ စီရင်သော။အလောင်းဘုရားဆက်။မြန်မာရာဇဝင်စာအုပ်တွင်။ အလောင်းမင်းကြားကြီးအမကား။မောင်ညိုစံ။အမိကား။ရှင်ငြိမ်းအောင်။ဟုအဆိုရှိချေသည်။

ဤသို့မြို့။ သာယာဝတီတံခါး။ မသာလမ်း အနောက်ဖက်။ ဇမ္ဗူ။ဆီမီးဘုရားစေတီကို။အလောင်းမင်းကြားကြီးခမည်းတော်သီရိဓမ္မရာဇာဘွဲ့ခံ။ မင်းညိုစံ။တည်ကြောင်းကို။ကမ္ဘည်းကျောက်စာတွေ့ရကြောင်း။ရှေးဒိုသုတိုပြောပြချက်ကိုမှတ်သားရဘူးသည်။

၎င်းပြင်။သံတွဲးမြို့စီရင်စု။တောင်ကုပုံမြို့။ သိမ်တောင်ဆရာတော်။ ဦးစန္ဒာသီရိ၊ ထံရောက်သောအခါ။၎င်းဆရာတော်မိန့်တော်မူချက်မှာ။အလောင်းမင်းကြားကြီးသည်ကား။ညေဝတီပြည်။မြောက်ဦးမြို့စန္ဒသုရှင်။သားတော်။ဥဂ္ဂါဗလရာဇာသည်။ အမ၏။အမိုက်အရာကိုဆက်ခံ၍။ခေတ္တ

ခံနန်းတော်ယာယီဆောက်ပြီးလျှင်။ ချိတ်မြို့တွင် စံတော်မူကြိုက်အခါ။ ကိုယ်ရံတော်အမှုထမ်းအဆောင်ကိုင်တို့က။ တိတ်တဆိတ်သတ်သောကြောင့်။ ကံတော်ကုံလေသည်။

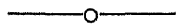
ဤအကြောင်းကို။ မြောက်ဦးမြို့နန်းတော်နှိုက်ရှိနေသော။ တောင်ဆောင်တော်၊ တန်ဆောင်းမိဖုရားမှာ။ ကိုယ်ဝန်သန္ဓေသုံးလတည်လျက်ရှိနေ၍။ မိဖုရားသည်။ အသက်တေးမှ ချမ်းသာရန်။ မိမိအခြေအရံတို့နှင့်။ မြို့အရှေ့မြောက်။ ဗူးရွက်မညှိုးလမ်းက။ ထွက်ပြေးတိမ်းရှောင်လာရာ။ အရှေ့ဘက်ပြည်။ မုတ်ဆိုးဖိုရွာကိုရောက်၍။ မုတ်ဆိုးဖိုရွာသူကြီးနှင့်။ ဆက်ဆံပေါင်းသင်း နေရလေသည်။

ကိုယ်ဝန်သန္ဓေ၊ (၇) လရှိသောအခါ။ သားရတနာကိုဖွားမြင်လေသည်။ ၎င်းသားကို။ အမည်ပေးရန်။ တန်ဆောင်းမိဖုရားက။ သူကြီးကိုပြောသည်မှာ။ အကျွန်ုပ်သည်။ ရက္ခိုင့်ပြည်က။ မိဖုရားဖြစ်ပါသည်။ တေးရန်ကိုကြောက်၍။ လွတ်ကင်းအောင်ပြေးလာရာ။ ချမ်းသာရာကိုရပါသဖြင့်။ ရန်ကိုအောင်သောကြောင့်။ သားကို။ ကောင်းစွာ ဖွားမြင်ရသည့်အတွက်။ နိမိတ်အစွဲမူ၍။ အောင်ဇေယ၊ ဟုအမည်ကိုပေးရန် ပြောသောအခါ။ သူကြီးက။ ကောင်းပီ ဆိုပြီးလျှင်။ ပွဲလမ်းသတင်ကျင်းပလျက်။ ချီးမြှင့်အပ်သော။ မင်္ဂလာအတိုင်း။ အောင်ဇေယ၊ ဟုအမည်ပေးလေသည်။

၎င်းအောင်ဇေယ၊ နှင့်အဖတူ။ မြောက်ဦးမြို့မြောက်နန်းမိဖုရားက ဖွားသော။ ရက္ခိုင့်ပြည်၊ ဝဇီယ၊ မင်းသားနှင့်ညီအစ်ကို၊ တော်ကြောင်းကို။ ရက္ခိုင့်ရာဇဝင်ဟောင်းနှိုက် တွေ့ဘူးသည်ဟု မိန့်တော်မူချေသည်။

- (၁) ကုန်းဘောင်ဆက်မဟာရာဇဝင်။
- (၂) အလောင်းမင်းကြီးကြီးအရေးတော်ပုံ။
- (၃) ပါဠိဆရာကြီး။ ဆရာဇိနိဂရေး၊ စီရင်သောမြန်မာရာဇဝင်။
- (၄) ဇန္တု၊ ဆီမီးဘုရားကျောက်စာတွေ့အဆို။
- (၅) သိမ်တောင်ဆရာတော်မိန့်ဆိုချက်။

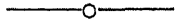
အကြောင်းများသည်။ တမျိုးစီကွဲလွဲရှိသောကြောင့်။ (ဤကားနှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်အချက်ကြီးဖြစ်သည်။) သို့ဖြစ်၍။ သိမ်တောင်ဆရာတော် မိန့်ချက်အတိုင်း အမှန်ဟူရမည်ဖြစ်ပါက။ မြန်မာပြည်နှိုက်။ အတည်ပြုထုတ်ထားသော။ ရာဇဝင်များသည်။ ပက်လက်လန်သွားရန်ဖြစ်တော့သည်။



ဆောင်ပုဒ် ၂ ချိုးခွန်းထောက်။



- (၁) မရမာပြည်။ အတည်ရှိရာ ဝင်ဈား။ ဆရာတော် သိမ်တောင် မြွက်လိုက်တယ်။ ပက်လက်လန်သွား။
- (၂) ပုဂံနွယ်။ အကျယ်ပြ၊ မှန်နန်း။ ယခုရက္ခိုင့်ဆိုနှင့်။ အတည်ကိုတယ်ကစစ်တယ်လို့။ ခင်းဖြစ်တခန်း။

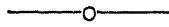


၁၁။ ။ ဖိုးတော်မင်းကြားကြီးမလွန်မိက။ မင်းတိုင်ပင်အမတ်ကြီး၊ မဟာဓမ္မသင်္ကြံကို။ မိန့်မိဘုရား၏အမျိုးအရိုးကို မဖော်မ ဆိုတော်မူခဲ့သည်မှာ။ ဆရာကြီးငါမယုံနောက်။ ငါမြေးတော်ဇနီးရှင်အား။ ထီးနန်းကိုပေးအပ်ပါ။ စကြာကိုရင်ခွင်ပိုက်ပါစေ။ ပန်းတောင်းကို တောင်ညာတင်ပါစေ။ သရက်ကိုအစေ့မရှက်ပါစေနဲ့ဟု။ မှာထားခဲ့သည်။ ဖိုးတော်ဘုရားလွန်ပြီးနောက်။ ပညာယိုမင်းတိုင်ပင်အမတ်ကြီးက။ ဖိုးတော်မိန့်ချက်အရ။ ပန်းတောင်းမင်းသမီးကို။ တောင်ညာတင်ရန်၊ ပြောပြရာ။ မြေးတော်ဇနီးရှင်က။ ငြင်းပယ်လေသည်။ မင်းတိုင်ပင်အ

မတ်ကြီးကကြက်မှာအရိုးလူမှာအရိုးဆိုပါသည်။ မင်းမျိုးမင်းနွယ်စစ်မှသာမိဖုရားကြီးမြှောက်ထိုက်ကြောင်းကိုပြောပြရာတွင်မယ်နွယ်ကကြားဖြတ်၍။ ဆရာကြီးပြောချက်မှားလေသည်။ ကြက်မှာအရိုးလူမှာအရိုးမဟုတ်။ ကြက်မှာအမြစ်လူမှာအချစ်ဆိုပါသည်ဟု ပြောချက်အရမယ်နွယ်ကိုမိဖုရားကြီးတင်မြှောက်လေသည်။

ဤအကြောင်းကားရှေးဦးထင်ကြီးလူကြီးတို့များစွာ အမှတ်ပြု၍ အဆင့်ဆင့်ပြောဆိုကြလေသည်။ ရာဇဝင်ရှိတ်၊ မတင်၊ မဖော်မပြုနေသည်မှာ။ မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီးကို၊ ဖန်နန်းရှင်၊ မင်းကြားကြီးလက်ထက်၊ အမိန့်တော်မြတ်နှင့်၊ နန်းတော်၊ မှန်နန်းဆောင်တွင်၊ စီစဉ်ရေးသားရသောကြောင့်၊ ရာဇပြစ်ဒဏ်သင့်မည်ကို၊ ရာဇဝင်စီရင်သော၊ ပညာယှိတို့ကြောက်ရွံ့သဖြင့်၊ မြင်းချန်ထားရသည်ဟု၊ သဘောထင်မြင်မိပေသည်။

(ဤကားခိုင်းရှည်ရန်အကြောင်းဖြစ်သည်။)



- (၁) ဖန်နန်းရှင်။
- (၂) စစ်ကိုင်းမင်း။
- (၃) ဆင်ဖြူရှင်။
- (၄) ရတနာပူရစတုတ္ထမြို့တည်မင်းကြား။
- (၅) နောင်တော်ဘုရင်။
- (၆) တကြီးတော်။
- (၇) မဟာဝိဇယရံသီခေတ်တော်၊ မဟာသက္ကသီဟ၊ လောဟရုပ်ပွားတော်၊ မဟာသက္ကရံသီကျောက်မြို့ရုပ်ပွားတော်ဘုရားများဒါယကာ။

ဤကား၊ ဖန်နန်းရှင်မင်းကြား၏အမည်တော်များဖြစ်သည်။ ဖန်နန်းရှင်ကား၊ ဗိုးတော်မင်းကြားကြီးပေးသောအမည်။ စစ်ကိုင်းမင်းကား၊ စစ်ကိုင်းမြို့ကို၊ အစားသနားတော် မူသောအမည်။ နောင်တော်ဘုရင်ကား၊ ကုန်းဘောင်မင်းကြားကြီး၏နောင်တော်ဖြစ်သည်။ တကြီးတော်ကား၊ ကုန်းဘောင်မင်း၏သားတော်၊ ပုဂံမင်း၊ မင်းတုန်းမင်းတို့၏တကြီးတော်ဖြစ်သတည်း။

၁၂။ မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီး၊ ပဌမတွဲတွင်။ တကောင်းမင်းရိုး၊ အိမ်ရှေ့မင်းကြီးသည်။ ဝက်ကြီးကိုလိုက်လာရာ။ ဝက်ကြီးကိုမိ၍။ သတ်သောအရာတွင်။ ရဲသေ့ပြုလုပ်နေ၍။ ၎င်းရဲသေ့ကျင်ငယ်စွန့်သောနေရာကို။ တောတိရစ္ဆာန်သမင်မတကောင်သည်။ လျှာဖြင့်လျက်သောကြောင့်။ သန္ဓေရှိ၍။ တေဒါရိသွီးကိုမွေးဖွားကြောင်းဖော်ပြသည်။

ဥညဝတီရက္ခိ၂၀ရာဇဝင်တွင်။ ကပိလဝတ်ပြည့်ရှင်။ အဇ္ဈနသင်္ကဝင်မင်းကြီးသည်။ ရဲသေ့ပြုလုပ်နေရာ။ ဣန္ဒြိယာရုံ-မည်သော။ တိရစ္ဆာန်-ဆတ်မနှင့်ပေါင်းတော်၍။ မာရဗုဒ္ဓဟူသောသားကိုဖွားကြောင်းဖော်ပြချေသည်။

ခန္ဓုဖြူဝန်ထောက်မင်း၊ ဦးကျော်ထွန်း၊ စီရင်သောပဏိဏ္ဍကဒိပဏီ ကျမ်းတွင်။ ဣဏမာရ၊ ဆတ်မက။ မာရရုံ၊ သားကိုဖွားသည်ဟုဖော်ပြသည်။

ဤနှိုက်၊ မြိစ္ဆာရာဇဝင်အဆို။ သမင်မက၊ မွေးဖွားလျှင်။ ငါတို့ရက္ခိ၂၀ရာဇဝင်ကလည်း။ ဆတ်မကမွေးဖွားသည်ဆိုမည်ဟု၊ ရေးသားစီရင်ခြင်း၊ မဟုတ်သော်လည်း။ ယုတ်သလိုဟောင်းထင်မှတ်ဖွယ်ရာဖြစ်ချေသည်။

သို့ရာတွင်။ သမင်မ-ဆတ်မ-တို့ကမွေးဖွားသည်ကိုယုံမှားဖွယ်ရာမရှိဖြစ်ပေသည်။

အကိုးအထောက်ကား။ မြတ်စွာဘုရား ဟောကြားတော် မူသော။ စက္ကာလိသနိပါတ်။ အလတ္တံ့သာဇာတ်ကို။ ထောက်၍၎င်း။ ပတ္တာသနိပါတ်။ နိလိနီဇာတ်ကိုထောက်၍၎င်း။ အမှန်ယုံကြည်ရန်ဖြစ်ပေသည်။

ပဋိသန္ဓေ၊ ကိုယ်ဝန်ယူနိုင်ကြောင်း။ အင်္ဂါယှစ်ပါးရှိသည်ကား။^၁

- (၁) ကိုယ်လက်နှီးနှောရခြင်းတပါး။
- (၂) ပဆိုးနှိုက်တင်သောသူတ်ကို၊ စုတ်ယူရခြင်းတပါး။
- (၃) သုတ်ကိုသောက်ရခြင်းတပါး။
- (၄) ချက်ကိုသုံးသတ်ရခြင်းတပါး။
- (၅) အဆင်းကိုရှုမြင်ရခြင်းတပါး။
- (၆) အသံကို၊ ကြားရခြင်းတပါး။
- (၇) အနံ့ကို၊ နှံ့ရခြင်းတပါး။
- (၈) မေထုနသံဝါသကိုပြုရခြင်းတပါး။

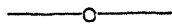
ဤဖော်ပြသော၊ အင်္ဂါယှစ်ပါးနှင့်။ တပါးပါး။ ကြိုကြိုက်သော်။ ကိုယ်ဝန်ရကြောင်းဖြင့်။ သာရတ္ထဒီပနီဇီကာစသောကျမ်းဂန်တို့၌။ မိန့်တော်မူကုန်သည်။

ဓားဝယ်ရာဇဝင်တွင်။ ယနန်းတောင်နှိုက်နေသော။ ဂေါပိန္ဒရီသွေသည်။ ကြာဆိုငါးတစ်တွင်။ ကျင်ငယ်စွန့်ရာ။ ငါးခိုးမတကောင်။ ထိုကျင်ငယ်ကိုသောက်ရသဖြင့်။ သန္ဓေယျ်၍။ သား-ရှင်ဇော-တယောက်။ သွီးရှင်ဇာ-တယောက်။ မွေးဖွားကြောင်းကိုဆိုလေသည်။

စင်စစ်သော်ကား။ ဓားဝယ်ရာဇဝင်က။ မြန်မာရာဇဝင်နှင့်။ ရက္ခိုင့်ရာဇဝင်တို့။ အဆိုအတိုင်း။ သင်းတိုက်-သမင်မ-ဆတ်မ-ကမ္မေးဖွားလျှင်။ ငါတို့ရာဇဝင်တွင်-ငါးက-မွေးဖွားသည်ဟူ။ မခံချင်၍။ ဖော်ပြရေးသားခြင်းဖြစ်သည်ဟူ၍။ ယူဆရန်ရှိချေသည်။

ဆင်ခြင်ရန်မှာ။ ငါးတို့မည်သည်။ အဏ္ဏဇပဋိသန္ဓေ။ ဆောင်ရသည်။ ဥနှစ်လုံးသာယှိသည်မဟုတ်။ ငါးတို့၏။ ဥသည်။ နှစ်မြောင်းယှိသည်။ ဥတမြောင်းနှိုက်။ ဥပေါင်း မရေ နှိုင်းအောင် ရှိချေသည်။ ဂဠုသေယက။ ကိုယ်ဝန်ဆောင်၍။ လူပကတိကို မွေးဖွားနိုင်သော။ သတ္တဝါမျိုးမဟုတ်သောကြောင့်။ ယုတ္တိမတန်ရှိချေသည်။ မခံချင်၍။ ရာဇဝင်ကို တင်စားရေးသည်ဟူ။ ထင်မှတ်ဖွယ်ရာဖြစ်လေသည်။

(ဤကားနှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်အကြောင်းအချက်ဖြစ်သည်။)



ထိုးပြင်။ တလိုင်းရာဇဝင်နှိုက်။ လမုပွင့်ထဲက။ သန္ဓေဇေအားဖြင့် ဖွားမြင်၍။ ရှင်ရီသွေက။ တလိုင်းတာသာ။ မိကမု။ မြိစ္ဆာတာသာ။ မိလမု-ဟု။ အမည်ပေးကြောင်း။

ထိုးပြင်။ သမလမင်း၏။ မိဖုရားကြီးသည်။ တလိုင်းတာသာ။ တပီထော်။ မြိစ္ဆာတာသာ။ အူဇရုံ-မယ်ခေါ်ကြောင်း။ ယင်းသည် မိဖုရားသည်။ အူဇရုံ ပွင့်တွင်း သန္ဓေဇေဖြင့် မွေးဖွားသောကြောင့်။ အူဇရုံမယ်။ ဆိုလိုသည်။

ရာဇဝင်တစောင်က။ သမလမင်း သိမ်းပိုက်တော်မူရန်။ အူဇရုံယာခင်းသို့လာရာ။ ကြောက်လန့်သဖြင့်။ အူဇရုံနှွယ်။ ကျောက်ဇရုံနှွယ်များကို။ ဗုံးအုပ်၍။ ပုန်းကွယ်နေသည်ကို။ ယာခင်းထည်းတို့။ သမလမင်း၏။ နောက်ပါကျေးကျွန်များရှာဖွေရာ။ တွေ့၍။ တလိုင်းလို၊ ဂို.ထိုကွမီ-ဟုတစ်အော်ကြသည်။ မြိစ္ဆာလို၊ ဇရုံမယ်-ဟုဆိုသည်။

သို့ရာတွင်ဆင်ခြင်ရန်အကြောင်းမှာ။ ဥမဂဇာတ်အလို။ သဇနိပင်ပေါ်က-ရသောမိဗ္ဗကို။ ဥဒ္ဓံထရ၊ ဒေဝီခေါ်သကဲ့သို့၎င်း။

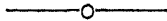
မဟာဝင်အလို။ အသောက-ပန်းပင်ထက်ဖြင့်ရသောမိစ္ဆကို။ အသောကမာလာဒေဝီခေါ်သကဲ့သို့၎င်း။

ပုဂံရာဇဝင်အလို။ ဝါးတောထဲကရသောမိစ္ဆကို။ ၈၀၅၂၀ တိ-ခေါ်သကဲ့သို့၎င်း။

ရှာဖွေရုံခြံထည်းကရသောမိစ္ဆကို။ ရှာဖွေရုံမယ်။ လမုတောက။ ရသော မိစ္ဆကို။ မယ်လမုဟုခေါ်ဝေါ်ရလျှင်၊ ယုတ္တိယှိအံ့ထင်သည်။

သို့သော်၊ ရှာဖွေရုံ ပွင့်။ လမု ပွင့်တို့က။ သန္ဓေဇေ-ဖြင့်မဖွားနိုင်ဟု။ အငြင်းထုတ်ပြန်သော်။ လမု ပွင့်-ရှာဖွေရုံ ပွင့်-ရာဇဝင်-ဆရာတို့က။ နိပါတ်တော်၌။ ပရမဒေဝီသည်။ ပရမ္မာကြာ ပွင့်က။ သန္ဓေဇေ။ မွေးဖွားသည်မဟုတ်လား။ ငါတို့-လမု ပွင့်-ဖရုံပွင့်-ကကော။ သန္ဓေဇေ။ မဖွားနိုင်ဘူးလားဟု။ ဆင်ခြေတက်ရန်ရှိသောကြောင့်။ ဟုတ်မဟုတ်။ မှန်မမှန်ကို။ ပညာယှိရာဇဝင် စီရင်သူတို့သာလျှင်။ ပခာန၊ စွဲမှတ်ရန်ရှိချေသည်။

(ဤကား၊ နိုင်းရှည်ရန်အချက်ဖြစ်သည်။)



၁၃။ ။ သာသနာ လင်္ကာရ စာတန်း မျက်နှာ ၁၂၄ တွင်။ ။ ပည ဝါသီလ သမ္မန္တော။ ကျစွာမင်းကြီး ဥဒါန်းကျသော။ နုတ္တိနမေပိဇ္ဇတိ။ ။ ဟူသောဥဒါန်းစကားဖြင့်။ ထင်ယွားစွာထိုဂါထာအကြောင်း မင်းကြီးမှာ ထားခဲ့ကြောင်းကိုဆိုသည်။ အနက်အဓိပ္ပါယ်ခဲ၏။

ရာဇဝင်တတ်သူတို့ကြံစည်မှတ်ယူပါကုန်ဟု။ ပဌမ၊ မောင်ထောင်ကြီးမိန့်ဆိုချက်ယှိလေသည်။ ၎င်းဂါထာသည်။ ရာဇဝင်တတ်မှတ်သူတို့နှင့်မဆိုင်။ ပိဋကတ်ကျမ်းဂန်တတ်မှတ်သူတို့နှင့်သာဆိုင်သည်။

ယင်းသည့်ဥဒါန်းဂါထာသည်။ အလွယ်နှင့်ခက်သည်ဟူ၍ ထင်သည်။ လွယ်ဟန်ကား။ မေ။ ငါနှင့်။ နုသဒိသော။ တူသော။ ပည ဝါ။ ပညာယှိသောသူသည်။ နုတ္တိ။ မယျိ။ မေ။ ငါနှင့်။ နုသဒိသော။ တူသော။ သီလသမ္မန္တော။ သီလနှင့်ပြည့်စုံသောသူသည်။ နုပိဇ္ဇတိ။ မယျိသည်ကား။ နု။ မဟုတ်။ ပိဇ္ဇတိဇေ။ ယှိသလျှင်သာတည်း။

ဤကား။ မန္တလေးမြို့။ ပဉ္စ မ၊ သင်္ဂါယနာတင်မင်းကြားကြီး လက်ထက်တော်။ တံဆိပ်ရ၊ ပုဂံဆရာတော်ဦးညာဏ၊ အနက်ယောဇနာတော်မူချက်ဖြစ်သည်။

ပည ဝါကား။ လူနှင့်သွင်၊ နှစ်ရပ်ကိုရှုယှိဟန်ထင်သည်။ သီလသမ္မန္တောကား။ သွင်ကိုသာသက်သက်ရှုယှိဟန်ထင်သည်။

အလုံမြို့အထက်တိုက်။ နောင်ကြီးခိုင်ကျောင်း၌ ကံသတင်းသုံးတော်မူသော။ ဖုန်းတော်ကြီး၊ ဦးခဲ၊ အနက်ပြန်ဆိုသည်ကား။

မေ။ ငါနှင့်။ နုသဒိသော။ တူသော။ ပည ဝါ။ ပညာယှိသောသူသည်။ နုတ္တိ။ မယျိ။ မေ။ ငါနှင့်။ နုသဒိသော။ တူသော။ သီလသမ္မန္တော။ သီလနှင့်ပြည့်စုံသော သူသည်။ နုပိဇ္ဇတိ။ မယျိ။ ။ ဟူ၍ အနက်ယောဇနာတော်မူလေသည်။ ယင်းသည့်၊ ဦးခဲ၊ အနက်ယောဇနာချက်ကို။ ရေစချိုဆရာတော်ဘုရားဦးဝရသမ္ဘာမိ၊ မနှစ်သက်၍ ။ အကျယ်တဝန်းရေးသားစီရင်တော်မူသော ကျမ်းစာ။ တစောင်တဖွဲ့ထင်ယွားစွာယှိလေသည်ကိုကြားဘူးသည်။

၁၄။ ။ ပလိပ်စားဖေးချင်းအဆိုသက္ကရာဇ်။ မဏိရတနာပုံစံကျမ်းအဆိုသက္ကရာဇ်တို့သည်။

သက္ကရာဇ်မညီခြင်းအကြောင်း။ မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီးအဆိုသက္ကရာဇ်နှင့်အချို့မညီကွဲပြားကြလေသည်။ ပလိပ်စားဖေးချင်းနှင့်။ မဏိရတနာပုံစံကျမ်းယှိသက္ကရာဇ်တို့သည်။ မောင်ကုလားစီရင်သော။ မဟာရာဇဝင်ကြီးက။ သက္ကရာဇ်နှင့်သဘောတူကြလေသည်။

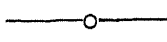
မဏိရတနာပုံသိက္ခာသည။ မင်းကြီးစွာစော်ကဲး လက်ထက် ဖြစ်သည်။ ပလိပ်စားဒီးချင်း သည်။ ကုန်းတောင်ဆက်စဉ်ကူးမင်းလက်ထက်ဖြစ်သည်။ မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီးမှာ။ ရတနာပူရစတုတ္ထမြို့တည်။ ကြီးတော်ဘုရားလက်ထက်။ အမိန့်တော်နှင့်မှန်နန်းတော်တွင်။ ရဟန်းပညာ ယိုး။ မှူးမတ်ပညာယိုး။ အရပ်ရပ်သောကမ္ဘည်းကျောက်စာ။ မော်ကွန်းဒီးချင်း။ ရာဇဝင်တို့နှင့်။ စိစစ် နှိုင်းချိန်၍။ သင့်သည်ထင်မြင်ချက်ကိုသာ။ ဖော်ပြစီရင်ရေးသားရသော။ နောက်ဖြစ်ရာဇဝင်တော် ကြီးဖြစ်သည်။

၁၅။ ။ မှန်နန်းမဟာ ရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီးတွင်။ သရက်မင်းဆက်။ ညောင်ရမ်းမင်းဆက်အ မှတ် သား ကြည့် ရှုရန် ကောင်း ခိုင်းများ။ ပညာယိုး လျှောက်ဆို ခန်းကို။ မှတ်သားရန် ကောင်း သောရာဇဝင်များ။ သော။ ဓညဝတီအရေးတော်ပုံ။ ရာဇဓိရာဇာရေး တော်ပုံ။ ညောင်ရမ်းမင်းကြားအရေးတော်ပုံ။ ဟံသာဝတီဆင်ဖြူရှင်မင်းကြားအရေးတော်ပုံ။ ရမ္မာဓိပတိ မင်းအရေးတော်ပုံ။ အလောင်းမင်းကြားကြီးအရေးတော်ပုံ။ ဤဖော် ပြသောရာဇဝင်များသည်။ စကားအသုံးအနှုန်း။ မင်း၏အဆိုအမိန့်။ မှူးမတ်ပညာယိုး အတင် အလျှောက်၊ ကောင်းသော ကြောင့်။ အထူးကြည့်ရှုမှတ်သားရန်သင့်လှပါသည်။

ဤမြန်မာ့သုတေသနအသင်းကြီးသည်။ ရှေးဟောင်းပညာဗဟုသုတကိုရှာဖွေထုတ်ဖော်စု ဆောင်းသောအသင်းဖြစ်သည်အတိုင်း။ ရှေးကျသော၊ ကမ္ဘည်းကျောက်စာ။ ရာဇဝင်၊ ဒီးချင်း။ သာ ချင်း။ လွမ်းချင်း။ တန်းချင်း။ ဒိုင်ချင်း။ ဖျို။ ရတု။ ရကန်။ အဲး။ အဏ်။ မော်ကွန်း။ လူးတား။ သဗ္ဗိုင်း။ သ ခိုင်းစသော။ ထူးသောတာသာဝေါဟာရ။ ပညာယိုးပုဂ္ဂိုလ်တို့၏။ အတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိစသည်များကို။ ထုတ် ဖော်ရေးသားရခြင်း။ ရာဇဝင်တို့ကို။ အဆိုအမိန့်မည်ကွဲပြား။ ခြားနားသောအချက်တို့ကို။ ထင် ယားအောင်ထုတ်ဖော်ရေးသားရခြင်းစသဖြင့်။ အမျိုးသားတို့၏အကျိုးဖြစ်ထွန်း ကြီးပွားအောင် ဆောင်ရွက်ကြခြင်းဖြစ်ပါ၍။ အသင်း၏ရည်ရွယ်ချက်နှင့်လျော်ညီစွာ။ အကျွန်ုပ်မှတ်သားမိသမျှ။ ထုတ်နုတ်ရေးသားဖော်ပြသောဤနှိုင်းရှည့်ရန်မှတ်သားချက်ကို။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၇၉-ခု၊ ဝေါဟာရ။ တပို့တွဲလဆန်း ၁၄-ရက်။ ခရစ်သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၉၁၇-ခု၊ ဇူလိုင်လ ၂၅ ရက်။ ကြောနေ့ညတွင်။ လက် မှူပညာသည်တို့အတတ်ကိုယှဉ်ပြိုင်သော။ ဤကျုပ်လိစုံကြီးအတွင်း။ အံ့ဩကြီးကျင်းပ။ ပြသသော အခမ်းအနားကို။ စည်းဝေးရောက်လာကုန်သော။ ပညာယိုးပရိသတ်မင်း၊ အများ၍။ ထင်ယား စွာ၊ ဖတ်ကြားပြောပြပါသတည်း။

ဖော်ပြချက်။ နှိုင်းယှဉ်။ နှိုင်းရှည့်။ စကား ၂ မျိုးအဓိပ္ပါယ်မှာ။ နှိုင်းယှဉ်- သဘောကား။ အရှုံးအနှိုင်းယှဉ်ပြိုင်။ ဆိုင်ပြိုင်စသော၊ အရာကို ဆိုလိုသည်။

နှိုင်းရှည့်၊ နှိုင်းရှဲ့၊ သဘောကား။ တော်မတော်။ မှန်မမှန်၊ တုတ်မတုတ်။ သင့်မသင့်၊ ရာမရာ။ ဖြစ်မဖြစ်၊ တတ်မတတ်။ စသည်တို့ကို၊ ညာဏ်ဖြင့်။ စဉ်းစား။ နှိုင်းချိန်၊ နှိုင်းချင်း၊ ဆင်ခြင်၊ ဆုံးဖြတ်ရန် ကို၊ ဆိုလိုသည်။



သမိုင်းလင်္ကာ။



ကြားလောဗိုလ်လူ၊ သမိုင်းတူပိမ့်၊ ဇမ္ဗူဤကျွန်း။ နိမိတ်ထွန်းသည်။ မော်ကွန်းတစောင်၊ တွဒ ရှစ်အောင်ကို။ ရည်ဆောင်တည်ပြု။ ပညာမှဖြင့်၊ ဗဟုအရာ။ များမြောင်စွာကို။ ပြောမထုတ်။ ဖတ်မ ဖတ်မို့။ ဖော်ထုတ်ညွှန်ပြ။ အမည်သ-သား။ သုတေသနခေါ်။ အသင်းကျော်သည်။ ထင်ပေါ်လွှဲလင်း။ ကြေညာခြင်းဖြင့်။ ခပင်းလိုရာ။ အဖြာဖြာကို။ ဘာသာဥသီး၊ လုံးစုံမကြွင်း။ မချန်မြှင်းသား။ ငွေငွေ

ခေါ်စာအုပ်ကျော်သည်။ ထုတ်ဖော်ဝေငှ။ အနေကျဖြင့်။ လေးလတကြိမ်။ ခေတ်မတိမ်ပဲ။ အစဉ်မြီး
 ၏။ ခွံ့ပွဲကျပလီ။ စုံစီခင်းပြု။ အစုစုမှာ။ လက်မှုပညာ။ တတ်ကျွမ်းရာကို။ သေချာစွာမြှောက်။ ဂုဏ်ရ
 လောက်အောင်။ ပင့်ထောက်စိုးရ။ မြို့ကြွယ်ဝလိမ့်။ တေဇအသျှင်။ ဂျော့ဘုရင်ကို။ ကြည်လင်စေ
 ကြောင်း။ အောင်ဆုတောင်းလေ့။ ငြိမ့်ညောင်းရည်ကာ။ မှီမေတ္တာနှင့်။ သာယာထိမ်းမှတ်။ လဟုန်
 နတ်သို့။ အမြတ်လေးပြု။ ဗဟုအခြေ။ အထွေထွေဖြင့်။ သုတေသန။ အသင်းကလျှင်။ ကျင်းပပင်နှံ့။
 ဂုဏ်နိုးကဲအောင်။ ခွံ့ပွဲမှပိလာ။ ဝါစာဖော်ညွှန်း။ နှုတ်ရည်နှုန်းသည်။ တည်ထွန်းတန်းဆောင်
 နေဝန်းတည်း။

ဆရာသိန်း။
 မော်ဝိမြို့။

SHIN UTTAMAGYAW AND HIS TAWLA, A NATURE POEM—IV.

Notwithstanding the defect pointed out in Part III of this article respecting the structure of the poem, in some respects there is a certain degree of uniformity in thought and idea. In Verse I, the striking feature of the poem is that all trees and plants of the sylvan tracts are personified and exhibited as paying reverence to the Lord of the Universe. In Verse II, among those who join in this pious act, prominence is given to the inhabitants of the watery element, especially to the fishes and crabs, and to the high born ogres of the forest ranges. In Verse III, the winged animals of the air are brought forward on that solemn occasion. In the present Verse, heavenly beings make a descent to the earth forming a lovely galaxy of young goddesses. They are seen at their devotions. With them join the gods of the lower regions including those inhabiting trees and hills. The *Kôn bans*, the *Galôns* and the *Nagas*, from the different terraces of the great Mount *Meru*, also make their appearance for the same purpose. Even the beasts of the forest as well as the hunters and the bird-shooters in their wonted rounds take part in the worship of the holy Sage.

But there comes in a divergence from the sentiment originally aimed at. The bowmen, that is the hunters and the bird-shooters, fascinated by the sight of the charming young goddesses, at once declare their passion and long to know or rather to hear when the fair goddesses would reciprocate their love. They bethink themselves of offering their hearts to the goddesses as if they were the well-known gem of inestimable value. But they are at a loss to know the propriety of their intended action. Their difficulty is therefore as unsurmountable as that of a person who stretches out his hand for the moon. So do they think within themselves. But such a thought intensifies their feeling and prompts their longing for the goddesses to whom they have given their hearts. Furthermore they guess that their sighs will be made more poignant by the rain-god who is regarded as the chief author of insufferable longing, sadness and grief. Their attachment to the bewitching goddesses does not for a moment abate. They entertain hopes of winning the love of the pretty goddesses whom they would have as brides.

Such are the thoughts which the poet causes to arise in the minds of these wanderers of the forest regarding the heaven-born beauties. But he eventually winds up the theme by saying that "no sooner do they realize through their vision the glory of Buddha than the bowmen struck with reverence and fear join to adore the Lord hiding away their bows and arrows.

Now the above may be accepted as a fine episode intentionally inserted in its proper place. It is but natural that the hunters should be charmed by the sudden sight of the celestial virgins of unsurpassable beauty, and be conscious of the barrier that makes matrimonial relation-

ship impossible. But is it proper that the ascetic author should dabble in the affairs of love? Certainly yes. The reasons are ample enough. Similar instances are to be found in the works of some other eminent writers in the order. However the question is a moot one. So the readers may answer for themselves.

The first passage of the present Verse, namely တထာဂတံ နှိုင်းဆမြော်၊ မြတ်ရှင်တော်ကို။ ပူဇော်ကြရာ။ အကြောင်းမှာတာ။ is ambiguous in so far as the meaning of အကြောင်း is concerned. The word may be taken at first sight to mean "the motives for" or "the circumstances attending." But this is incorrect. It means here "an account" or "a description." The whole passage may therefore be rendered thus:—"The account or description relating to the worship of the Great Being, the incomparable Lord Buddha, is as follows."

The term တထာဂတံ is an epithet of Buddha meaning the Great Being. It is a Pāli compound of တထာ (in the same manner or thus); and အာဂတံ (having come); and it therefore means "One who comes of the same line of Buddhas." According to some, တထာဂတံ is derived from တထာ and ဂတံ (having gone to), and it therefore means "one who goes in the same manner;" that is "a sentient being," and it applies to a Buddha as well.

နှိုင်းဆမြော် simply means "incomparable."

ပူဇော် (Pāli ပူဇာ) means "to worship" or "to do reverent homage."

ရာသီသမိုက်။ နွေစိုက်ဝယ်။ မြင်ကြော့ကြော့မှာ။ This passage gives a lovely description of the forest-grove in which the different goddesses mentioned in the lines immediately following are at their devotions. ရာသီသမိုက်။ နွေစိုက်ဝယ်။ should be understood literally to mean "according to the customary mode in the season known as Summer." သမိုက် means "known" or "called." စိုက် or more properly စရိတ် (Pāli စရိတ) means "conduct" or "practice." But it is generally spelt စိုက်.

လိုက် in လေလိုက်သာမော stands for အလိုက် which here means "yielding to or in harmony with." သာမော means delightful, or pleasant." The expression ညှာကြော့ခိုင်လျော့ is made up of ညှာ-ကြော့-ခိုင် and လျော့. The word ညှာ is for အညှာ (a petiole or a leaf-stalk); ကြော့ for အကြော့ (the ribs of a leaf); and ခိုင် for အခိုင် (a branch laden with flowers or fruits). လျော့ means "to be slack or yielding." မြင်ကြော့ကြော့မှာ။ means "in a pleasant forest-grove." "လေလိုက်သာမော, etc., therefore means "in a pleasant forest-grove where the foliage, flowers, fruits and branches are delightfully swayed by the gentle draft."

လျော့ကောသာရစ်။ ရတည်သစ်ကို ပူဇော်ကြ၏။ This refers to the bevy of female *nats* (goddesses) doing homage to the Lord of *Dhamma*.

လျော့ကောသာရစ် means "having the hair loosely tied round the head." ကောသာ (Pāli) means "hair of the head." လျော့ here means "loosely."

ရတည် (Archaic) means "a white waist-cloth."

စနပ် (Archaic) means "to fold back the border of a piece of cloth."

လုံ့ထည် means "warm clothing," hence a garment. Here it refers to the clothes worn on the upper part of the body.

နတ်စင်္ကညာ that is "pure virgin goddesses" ကညာ (Pāli) means "a virgin." The young goddesses are here described as clad in a new white waist-

cloth and a new bright shining upper garment thrown over the left shoulder and under the right arm according to a known style.

မေခလာ, နန္ဒာ, သူဇာ and သုန္ဒရီ. All these are the names of the goddesses. မေခလာ is the female guardian *nat* of the sea (*Nereid*). She is generally known as မဏိမေခလာ from the jewelled girdle which she always wears. သူဇာ for သူဇာ and သုန္ဒရီ for သုန္ဒရီ are both wives of *Indra*.

စိတြမှန်ကူ၊ ဘုံမြင့်သူတို့။ This refers to the same goddesses. စိတြ (Sanskrit) or စိတ္တ (Pāli) means "shining, variegated; or beautiful" မှန်ကူ means "a rhomb or any other mark put on the forehead." Hence it signifies nobility or high status. The expression therefore means "the celestial damsels of shining beauty and of the highest order."

တရားမင်း means King of justice or righteousness, that is Buddha. ဝတ်စား ခလ means "to prostrate oneself in a respectful manner."

ဟောမြိုင်ခွင်၊ ပျော်မြိုင်ခွင်သည်.....ဦးညွတ်ကြရာ. The act of bowing down as a token of paying respect to the Superman by the frolicsome *thamin* (deer), etc., of the forest is here referred to.

ဟောမြိုင်ခွင် means "throughout the forest." ဟော for ဟော (Archaic) means "forest." ယုန်ငယ်။ The hare is regarded as the smallest four footed creature inhabiting the forest. Hence the use of ယုန်ငယ် (a mere hare).

သုံးလူ့နတ် refers to Buddha (Cf. သုံးလူ့ဆွေ, ဝိသုဒ္ဓိနတ် or ဝိသုဒ္ဓိဒေဝ).

တိမ်ဝါဝယ်၊ ပါဏာတိပါတ်.....စည်းစားကြသည်။ The reference is to the hunters and the bird-shooters who assemble to honour Buddha. They wander in the great forest carrying bows and arrows.

တိမ်ဝါ—the Himalaya—is here simply used for an expansive forest.

ပါဏာတိပါတ် is from the Pāli ပါဏာတိပါတ which means "taking life" or "killing." ပါဏာတိပါတ်၊ ငှက်ခတ်သမား။ မုဆိုးများလည်း therefore means "the bird-shooters and the hunters who take the life of living creatures."

ဘုရားရှုကွာ။ အာကာသဓာတ်.....ပူဇော်ညွတ်လာ။ This passage includes all kinds of *nats* and the dwellers of the different terraces of Mount *Meru* among those who make their appearance for the purpose of adoring the Lord of the three classes of mankind.

ဘုမ္မ is used for ဘုမ္မိ which means "a *nat* who has dominion over some part of the earth. ဘုမ္မ (Pāli) means "earth."

ရုက္ခာ is used for ရုက္ခဝ္ဋ္ဌး which means "a tree nymph or a dryad." ရုက္ခ (Pāli) means "a tree." The accent is simply prolonged for the sake of rhythm.

အာကာသ (Pāli) means "the expanse of heaven;" and ဓါတ် is derived from the Pāli ဓါတု meaning "element." The expression အာကာသါတ်။ မိုးနတ်မကျန် alludes to those *nats* who make their home in the air. They are called in Burmese အာကာသဝိ။ They include all the inhabitants of the *devalokas*, the world of *devas*, or all the gods of heaven. But the *Catumahārājika* and the *Tavatimsa nats* consist of both ဘုမ္မိ and အာကာသဝိ, that is those inhabiting earth and air, because these two heavens lie partly on the earth and partly in the air. There are six *devalokas* below the 20 *brahmalokas*. The first or the lowest is the *Catumahārājika-deva-loka* extending from the *Yugandhara* rocks to the *Cakkavāla pabbata*; the second which also extends to the *Cakkavāla pabbata* is on the summit of Mount *Meru*; and the

remaining four rise one over the other. From the term မိုးနတ်, it appears that it includes both the *Brahmas* and the *devas*.

ကုမ္ဘလ် from the Pāli ကုမ္ဘလော are a class of superhuman beings inhabiting the third terrace of Mount *Meru*.

ဝဠုန် from the Pāli ဝဠုဠော is a gigantic bird inhabiting the second terrace of the same Mount counting from the lowest.

လေးစင်းအဏ္ဍဝါ။ အာဏာဝိဒ်။ ရေနန်းအိမ်က။ နာဂိန္ဒရ။ This alludes to the *Nagas* or *dragons* who inhabit the first or the lowest terrace of which the lower half is under water. Hence the expression ရေနန်းအိမ်က (from the watery abode). Mount *Meru* has altogether five terraces of which the fourth and the fifth are respectively inhabited by *Yakkhas* and *Gandhabbas* of whom mention has been made in Verse II.

The *Nagas* are said to have dominion over the four great oceans. Hence the expression လေးစင်းအဏ္ဍဝါ။ အာဏာဝိဒ်။ (having authority over the four great oceans). The Pāli words အဏ္ဍဝါ and အာဏာ respectively mean "the ocean" and "authority."

နာဂိန္ဒရ (Pāli) here means "chiefs of the *Nagas*." It stands for နာဂိန္ဒရာဇာ which is a compound of နာဂ (dragon) ဣန္ဒ (chief) and ရာဇာ (also chief or king). နာဂ also means "an elephant" (c. f. နာဂိန္ဒရာ in Verse II.)

ဗနန္တ is the name of a powerful *Naga*.

နတ်သူရာတို့။ This refers to the အသူရာ or the fallen *nats* banished from the heavens. They inhabit the three stone pillars that support Mount *Meru*.

သကျှင်တော် That is Gotama Buddha. သကျ is the royal race from which Gotama Buddha was descended.

နတ်ကညာအာ။ စိတ်မှာစွဲကပ်။ကြင်ရေးချယ်ခဲ့။ By these lines it is intended to show how the hunters and the bird-shooters blushed with joy and affection and fixing their thoughts upon the goddesses extol them in many metaphorical terms.

စိတ်မှာစွဲကပ် means "to sink into the mind" or "to fix upon the mind." This meaning is further explained by the next expression အာရုံကို၌ that is "to concentrate the mind upon," or "to have as an object for thought." အာရုံ is from the Pāli အာရမ္မဏ which means "the object of the mind or of thought." ကိုး means "to depend upon."

မြတ်နိုးကြင်နာ is made up of မြတ်နိုး and ကြင်နာ both meaning "to love." But the former conveys a stronger sense than the latter inasmuch as it also implies good will combined with a nobler feeling of affection.

ဗျူဟ (Archaic) means "engaging or pleasing manners." သစ်ဆန်း means "strange." ဗျူဟသစ်ဆန်း therefore means "with strange pleasing manners."

ကြွန်း in ကြွေကြွန်းမှာ is also an archaic word meaning "exalted" or "high." ကြွေ when applied to a person means "symmetrically beautiful," but when applied to an inanimate object it means "delightful" or "pleasant." ကြွေကြွန်း therefore signifies "a delightful palace." (Cf. မြိုင်ကြွေကြွေ noticed above).

တော့သန်းရွှေလယ် means "amid an assembly of a million maids of honour." It is made up of တော့ (for တော် royal or honourable); သန်း (a million)!; ရွှေ (for ရဲရွှေ a maid of honour) and လယ် (for အလယ် amid, among).

တဘုန်းမယ်တို့ means "maids possessing glory peculiar to each" or "the glorious ladies." (Cf. ဘုန်းမောင်, ဘုန်းကြွယ်, ဘုန်းခင်, ဘုန်းမေ, ဘုန်းမိ, ဘုန်းမော် etc. which

are terms of endearment generally used in poetry between lovers or between husband and wife. ဘုန်းမယ်, ဘုန်းမေ or ဘုန်းမောင် is sometimes used as a possessive first personal Pronoun, as ဘုန်းမယ်သခင်—my master; ဘုန်းမေ့သက်လွယ်—my life; and ဘုန်းမောင်သည်းအူ—my heart.”)

The whole passage, namely, ဗုဒ္ဓါသစ်ဆန်း၊ ကြော့ကြွန်းမှာ၊ တော့သရွှေလယ်၊ တဘုန်းမယ်တို့ therefore refers to the goddesses who are said to be likened to the royal princesses with strange pleasing manners amid a million maids of honour in a delightful palace.

ရွှေကြယ်စုံခ၊ စန်းငွေလသို့။ Here they are compared to the silvery moon surrounded by numerous golden stars. ဘဝတင့်လှိုင်း means “of high birth.”

မြတနိုင်းသို့၊ ဘက်ဆိုင်းအတုန်၊ တက်လှိုင်းပုံသည်။ This means that “in loveliness they are like an emerald of which the rays rise in a volume.” ဘက်ဆိုင်း means “to be bound up; to collect.”

ဝသုန်ရေက၊ ရှိသမျှကို means “every thing that exists on earth and in water.” ဝသုန် is derived from the Pâli ဝသုန္ဓရ meaning “the earth.”

မကမကန် means “exceedingly.”

အတန်တန် means “many times;” “repeatedly.”

ပြန်ပြန်လွယ်လွယ် means “repeatedly;” “over and over again.”

ကြင်ရေးချယ်ခွဲ means “to create attraction for love.”

The meaning of this last passage is simply this: “The beautiful appearance of the goddesses and their lovely behaviour and manners are so exceedingly attractive that they cannot be compared to any thing that exist on earth or in water.”

ဆယ်လှော်စံသိန်.....သိလိုချင်ခွဲ။ This means that the hunters are anxious to know from the mouth of the goddesses when they would consider the advances and love in return.

ဆယ်လှော်စံသိန်။ The goddesses are here figuratively styled as “virtues of the standard of a piece of gold smelted ten times.” ဆယ်လှော် means “smelted ten times.” စံ means “a standard.” သိန် means “virtue” or “excellence.” It is identical in meaning to ဂုဏ်. These two are therefore sometimes used in combination as ဂုဏ်သိန်.

ချိန် in ညှာဏ်ဖြင့်ချိန်လျက် means “to weigh in the mind,” or “to consider.”

သက် in ဘယ်ခါသက်အံ့ implies “inspiration of love” as in မေတ္တာသက် meaning “to fall in love.”

အမြွက်သံရှင် means “living sound.”

ကောရှင်မာလာ.....ခက်လွန်လွန်းစွာ။ This means “It is difficult to conjecture if it is proper for them (the hunters) to make a present of their lives (that is to offer their hands) to the goddesses as if they (the goddesses) were a gem of an inestimable value in the world.”

ကောရှင်မာလာ၊ ထုံဂန္ဓာဝယ်၊ မိလ္လာရည်ရွက်။ This is a collection of metaphorical names applied to the goddesses. They are termed as “growing hair;” “fragrant garland;” and “leaves of the niello tinge.” ကေ is for the Pâli ကေသာ which means “the hair of the head.” ကောရှင် therefore means “living hair.” The hair of the head is held in great esteem. Hence the epithet. (Cf. ကေခိုင် a bunch of hair, an endearing term used in poetry between lovers and between husband and wife, as မောင့်ကေခိုင်—my bunch of hair).

မာလာ (Pâli means “a flower,” “a garland” or “a wreath.”

ထုံနွှာ means "good smell;" "fragrance." The Pāli term နွှာ itself means "smell;" "fragrance" or "odour."

မိလ္လာ means "niello." ရည် is used for အရည် and it means "tinge" or "colour." ရွက် is used for အရွက် and it means "a leaf."

တာသူ့ဘက်မှာ means "on their behalf," that is on behalf of the goddesses (Cf. တွက်တာ).

ပဏ္ဍာ in အသက်ပဏ္ဍာ is used for the Pāli ပဏ္ဍာတာရ meaning "a present."

သဆက် in သဆက်ရာလည်း means "to present" or "to offer."

မဟာဇောတိရည် means "a powerful jewel or gem"; မဟာ (Pāli) means "great;" and ဇောတိရည် from the Pāli ဇောတိရသ means "a jewel having the power of conferring every wish."

လောကဓါတ် is from the Pāli လောကဓါတု which means "a world." It is another name for a *Cakkavāla* (စက္ကဝါလ). (See notes on *Cakkavāla* in Verse II).

မျက်မြင်ရည်မှန် means "a precious stone of the first water."

ဘိုးနုဣ means "an inestimable value." နုဣ is from the Pāli အနုဣ which means "inestimable;" "priceless;" or "costly."

စနညာဏယူဆင် means "to think over," "to consider." ဆင် here stands for ဆင်ခြင် (to consider).

တင့်ရေးအင်ကို means "the fact of being proper." အင် is probably from the Pāli အဝိ meaning "a cause."

ရော်ရမ်း in တွေးထင်ရော်ရမ်း means "to conjecture."

ထက်စွန်ဘုံပျံ၊ ယုန်မိမာန်ကို၊လွှမ်းရန်ပိုခဲ့။ In the imagination of the hunters their position is just like that of a person who cannot lay hold of the moon which is at a considerable height above by merely stretching up his arm. Their love for the goddesses is quite wild.

ထက်စွန်ဘုံပျံ၊ ယုန်မိမာန်ကို This refers to the moon. ယုန်—the hare—is an emblem of the moon. မိမာန် is from the Pāli မိမာန where o and မ are interchangeable, and it means "a celestial mansion. ဘုံပျံ and မိမာန် are tautologilal terms.

တော်ညာဝင်ကို means "one who is destined to be the chief queen." The reference is to the goddesses. တော် is an honourific term applicable to the royalty. ညာ the same as လက်ျာ means "the right." တော်ညာ therefore implies here "the chief queen whose position is on the right of the king in any ceremonial function."

မြင့်မိုရ်မဏ္ဍလာ။ ဝတ်နိချာဝယ်။မျာဗွါးဆင့်လိမ့်။ The allusion is to the rain-god to whom the hunters attribute their longing.

မြင့်မိုရ်မဏ္ဍလာ။ That is Mount *Meru* which is regarded as a circular mountain. မြင့်မိုရ် is said to be derived from the Pāli မေရု (*Meru*) the name of a vast mountain situated at the centre of each *Cakkavāla*. On its summit stands the *Tāvātimsa* heaven. Hence the expression ဝတ်နိချာဝယ် (In the centre of the *Tāvātimsa* heaven).

မဏ္ဍလာ (Pāli) means "a circle." ဝတ်နိ is for တာဝတိန်သာ, the Burmese form of the Pāli တာဝတိသ (*Tāvātimsa*)! ချာ means "centre."

တိမ်မြောက်ကိုးမှတ်။ ရိုးမည်နတ်လည်း။ refers to the god who is supposed to cause rain-clouds on all sides. ကိုးမှတ် literally means "nine marks." But here it refers to the eight points of the compass and the skyward direction, that is "all sides." ရိုး means "to allege or impute." (Cf. ကိုးရပ်ခွင်ဟိတ်ခတ်လို့။ ကိတ်တပတ်လျှပ်ခြည်။

ဝိတ်မတတ်ပတ်လည်။ နတ်စည်တော်ဆော်လို့။ ကမ္ဘာပြုလာသာအောင်။ ရွာမဟာဘဲလင့်ကရီ။—Achôktan Saya Pe.—The scene is dark on all sides with heavy clouds. Almost every beat of celestial drums. The downpour is expected to be heavier than that which fell when the world was formed.)

အမြတ်ကျော်ခေါင်။ ကောဝိညောင်က။ The allusion is to the abode of the Tāvātimsa gods, which is famous for its magnificence. အမြတ် means “magnificence,” or “nobility.” ကျော် is used for ကျော်စော and it means “famous.” ခေါင် means “highest, utmost or extreme.”

ကောဝိ for the Pāli ကောဝိလာရ (Bauhinia Variagata) is an emblematic tree in the *devaloka*. ညောင် is used for ညောင်စောင်း which means “a raised seat” or “a bedstead used by the royalty.” The compound ကောဝိညောင် is here used metaphorically for the seat of the *devas* or more properly the seat of *Indra*.

လွမ်းအောင်သာလင့်။ မြာပွားဆင့်လိမ့်။ The rain-god would be the cause of added anxiety and longing. ဗျာ means “anxiety.” It is more commonly used in combination with ဝါ as ဗျာပါ a shortened form of the Pāli ဗျာပါဒ.

သက်ပင့်ဆွတ်ချိမ့်။ ကြင်သည်းငြိမ့်မျှ။ယဉ်မျိုးစုံခွဲ။ The meaning of this passage is that the love of the hunters for the most winsome goddesses whom they look upon as their future mates do not fade away. But on the contrary the goddesses appear in their imagination in all respects as enchanting as ever.

သက်ပင့်ဆွတ်ချိမ့် means “as if the breath is to be snatched away.” ကြင်သည်းငြိမ့်မျှ means “as if to cause the heart to thrill.” The heart is here termed ကြင်သည်း probably because it is the seat of love.

ရွှေအိမ်ပရမေ means “the house wife,” or “the head of the household.” ပရမေ (Pāli) means “chief,” “excellent,” or “highest.” Cf. မယားအိမ်ရှင်။ သက်လုံးကြင်လည်း။ လင်ကိုစိတ်မှတ်။ မတ်ကိုစိတ်ထား။ တောဝေးသွားတို့။ *Letwèthōndara's Vimicchaya Pakāsani Dhammathat Linga*.)

သက်ပင့်ဆွတ်ချိမ့်။ ကြင်သည်းငြိမ့်မျှ။ ရွှေအိမ်ပရမေ။ လှလွန်းဆွေသာ။ နောင်ကိုးရာဟု may be rendered into English thus:—The goddesses who are so beautiful as to cause one to become breathless and to move one's heart are to be considered as their would be house-wives.”

အာရုံချယ် means “to conceive.”

ရှုဘွယ်တုံ means “to be worth looking at in one way or other.”

ယဉ်မျိုးစုံခွဲ means “full of elegance,” or “perfect in beauty.”

ကိုးဂုဏ်လူဆွေ မုဆိုးချိုကလချောင်းတည်း။ These concluding lines betray the power of the poet to wield dexterously the dramatic change of thought. There is no distinct break whatever in the theme or the diction.

ကိုးဂုဏ်လူဆွေ။ This applies to Buddha and it means “the Great Master who possesses the nine-fold glory.”

အဝိန္တေ is for the Pāli အဝိန္တေယျ which means “the incomprehensible subject.” It is another epithet of Buddha.

ခြောက်ထွေရောင်လျှပ်။ It refers to the splendour of the six kindred rays emanating from the body of Buddha.

ဇ္ဈိပါဒ် is derived from the Pāli ဇ္ဈိပါဒ် meaning “the constituent or basis of supernatural or magical power.”

လူတလွှားတို့ (the same as လူတစုတို့ or လူတဝေးတို့) means “the whole crowd of bravados.” It refers to the hunters.

ဝိဝိ (Pāli) means "joy" or "gladness."

ဘုရားရှင်ဘုန်း is the glory of Buddha.

နတ်လျှောက်နတ်မှာ means "nats after the manner of nats."

သုံးလူ့ချာ means "the supreme Lord of the three classes of mankind."

သဒ္ဓါလူလှ means "with open faith."

ပျပ်ဝပ်ကျိုးသည် means "to prostrate with respect."

ချောင်း means "to peep" or "to look."

Po BYU.

၄။ ။တထာဂတ။ နှိုင်းဆမမြော်။ မြတ်ရှင်တော်ကို။ ပူဇော်ကြရာ။ အကြောင်းမှာကာ။ ရာသီသ
မိုက်။ နွေစရိုက်ဝယ်။ လေလိုက်သာမော။ ညှာကြော့ခိုင်လျော့။ မြိုင်ကြော့ကြော့မှာ။ လျော့ကောသာရစ်။
ရတည်သစ်ကို။ စနစ်ခေါက်လွင့်။ သမိုက်ဆင်သည်။ ဘယ်တင်သိုင်းရစ်။ လှံထည်သစ်နှင့်။ နတ်စစ်ကညာ။
မေလလာလျှင်။ နန္ဒာသူဇာ။ သုနန္ဒနှင့်။ စိတြမုန်ကူ။ ဘုံမြင့်သူတို့။ နှိုင်းတူဘက်ကင်း။ တရားမင်းကို။ ဝပ်စင်းခ
ယ။ ပူဇော်ကြ၏။ ဟောမမြိုင်ခွင်။ ပျော်မြိုးရှင်သည်။ သမင်ဒရယ်။ ယုန်ငယ်စိုင့်ဆတ်။ သုံးလူ့နတ်ကို။ ဦးညွတ်
ကြရာ။ ဟိမဝါဝယ်။ ပါဏာတိပါတ်။ ငှက်ခတ်သမာ။ မုဆိုးများလည်း။ လေးမြားထမ်းကာ။ တောလည်
လာသော်။ မြတ်စွာသုံးလူ။ သဗ္ဗညုကို။ ဖူးလိုညွတ်ခ။ စည်းဝေးကြသည်။ ဘုမ္မရူက္ခာ။ အာကာသခေါက်။ မိုး
နတ်မကျန်။ ကုမ္ဘာဏ်မကြွင်း။ ဂဠုန်မင်းနှင့်။ လေးစင်းအဏ္ဍဝါ။ အာဏာစိုးနှိုင်း။ ရေနန်းအိမ်က။ နာဂိန္ဒရ။ ပ
နန္ဒနှင့်။ စသည်များစွာ။ နတ်သူရာတို့။ ထိန်ဝါသန့်ရှင်။ ကိုယ်ရောင်လင်းပ။ ဝပ်စင်ကြ၍။ သကျရှင်တော်။
သုံးလူ့ဘော်ကို။ ပူဇော်ညွတ်လာ။ နတ်ကညာအာ။ စိတ်မှာစွဲကပ်။ ငှက်ခတ်မုဆိုး။ အာရုံကို၍။ မြတ်နိုး
ကြင်နာ။ ဝမ်းမြောက်စွာနှင့်။ ပျူငှါသစ်ဆန်။ ကြော့ကြငှန်းမှာ။ တော့သန်းရွှေလယ်။ တဘုန်းမယ်တို့။ ရွှေ
ကြယ်စုံခ။ စန်းငွေလသို့။ ဘဝတင့်လှိုင်း။ မြတ်နှိုင်းသို့။ ဘက်ဆိုင်းအကုန်။ တက်လှိုင်းပုံသည်။ ဝသုန်ရေ
က။ ရှိသမျှကို။ မကမကန်။ အတန်တန်နှင့်။ ပြန်ပြန်လွယ်လွယ်။ ကြင်ရေးချယ်ခဲ့။ ဆယ်လှော်စံသိန်။ ဉာဏ်
ဖြင့်ချိန်လျက်။ ဘယ်ခါသက်အံ့။ အမြွက်သံရှင်။ သိလိုချင်ခဲ့။ ကေရှင်မလာ။ ထုံဂန္ဓာဝယ်။ မိလ္လာရည်ရွက်။
တာသုဘက်မှာ။ အသက်ပဏ္ဍိတာ။ သဆက်ရာလည်း။ မဟာဇောတိရယ်။ လောကခါတ်ဝယ်။ မျက်မြတ်ရည်
မှန်။ ဘိုးနန္ဒိုသို့။ ဖန်ဉာဏ်ယူဆင်။ တင့်ရေးအင်ကို။ တွေးထင်ရော်ရမ်း။ ခက်လွန်လွန်းစွာ။ ထက်စွန်းဘုံပုံ။
ယုန်မိမာန်ကို။ လက်တံလှမ်းချီ။ ဖမ်းမမိသို့။ မြင့်သီဝေးမြော်။ ထင်ရေးရော်၍။ တော်ညာဝင်ကို။ လွှမ်းရေးပို
ခဲ့။ မြင့်မိုရ်မဏ္ဍလာ။ ဝတိန်ချာဝယ်။ တိမ်ပြာကိုးမှတ်။ ရိုးမည် နတ်လည်း။ အမြတ် ကျော်ခေါင်။ ကော ဝိ
ညောင်က။ လွှမ်းအောင်သာလင့်။ ဗျာဗျားဆင်လိမ့်။ သက်ပင့်ဆွတ်ချိမ့်။ ကြင်သည်းငြိမ့်မျှ။ ရွှေအိမ်ပရမော။
လှလွန်းဆွေသာ။ နောင်ကိုးရာဟု။ စိတ်မှာမပြယ်။ အာရုံချယ်လျက်။ ရွာဘယ်တပုံ။ ယဉ်မျိုးငုံခဲ့။ ကိုးဂုဏ်လှ
ဆွေ။ အစိန္တ၏။ ခြောက်တွေ့ရောင်လျှပ်။ ဣပါဒ်ဖြင့်။ ငှက်ခတ်သမာ။ လူတလွှားတို့။ မြင်ငြားကုန်ကြ။ ခွီ
ဝိတိကြ၍။ လွှတ်ထလေးမြာ။ ကွယ်ရာထားလျက်။ ဘုရားရှင်ဘုန်း။ လျှိုးပုန်းရှုံ့ကြောက်။ တောတလျှောက်
၌။ နတ်လျှောက်နတ်မှာ။ သုံးလူ့ချာကို။ သဒ္ဓါလူလှ။ ပူဇော်မှုဖြင့်။ တောထုတောင်ရိုး။ ပျပ်ဝပ်ကျိုးသည်။ ။
မုဆိုးချိုကလချောင်းတည်း။

A crowd of worshippers hail the great superman. It is summer. In the delightful forest realm the whistling wind rocks the leaves and branches to and fro.

Megala, Nanda, Thusa and Thunanda bend their aureoled brows at the feet of the righteous King. The tresses of these high-born fairy forms are loosened in sweet disorder and their spotless *saris* are bravely thrown about their snowy shoulders.

The deer and the hare that gambol and bound in the woodland join the adoring throng. Hunters of fur and feather while roving in the forest approach the Sage. Their hearts spring up in adoration.

The fairy inhabitants of the earth and air and water and wood appear in radiant forms and fall on their faces before the superman.

The sight of the worshipping goddesses thrills the huntsmen with passion and pleasure. The strange ways of the divine galaxy are full of sex and the spell of sex. They call to mind princesses who move about in the place attended by a train of million maids. They shine clear as the fair bosom of the silver moon engirt by stars of gold. Resplendent as an emerald that darts its lustre in a flood of light, they eclipse all that is fair on earth and in water.

The simple swains wonder when the celestial beauties would open their hearts and utter their loves in silvery accents. The love-smitten company lay their lives lowly at the feet of the goddesses as if for priceless gems. Is it worth their while? One may doubt and doubt. But who can tell? They are like those that think to lay hold of the moon with their pigmy hands. This dismal fact flashes upon their faint minds. Mayhap the god of the skies seated on Meru's brow has inspired in them a hopeless passion. Thus they fondly surmise.

The ravishing looks of the goddesses catch their breath away and put their hearts in a flutter. They still dream of their brides-to-be with winsome airs and graces. The gladful light of the six rays flashing forth from the great Sage dispels their wistfulness. They lay aside their bows and arrows and in utter faith gaze towards Him with adoration together with the fairy worshippers.

B. H.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

A SYNOPSIS OF KYA-KHWETSA, (TIGER-KILLING POEM.)

This historical poem known as "Kya-Khwetsa" was written in the year 1127 B. E. (1765 A. D.) by Ran-Aung-Myin Sayadaw, a pupil of U Tasa Rama Sayadaw, the Tha-tha-na-bine (We-Nai-htore) of Arakan. It was composed at the request of the King's brother, Governor of Ramree, on the occasion of the building of the Mahamuni Shrine, which had been burnt down in 1126 B. E., 9 months after the ascension to the Throne of the King Apaya-Maha-Raja (1126—1135) and it recants noble and virtuous deeds of devotion to duty, un-exampled loyalty to king and country at the sacrifice of life, and the final reward.

Dabinegree, the hero of the poem and father of the reigning king, was a person of strong character and noble virtue and most admirably upheld the tradition of the army, to obey the king's order even at the sacrifice of life and to die as a true soldier at the altar of loyalty and devotion.

Sanda Wezaya (1072—1093 B. E.) was a king of low birth, but brave, courageous and full of wisdom. He was blind of one eye and gained his livelihood as a toddy farmer in Minbya Township, where he was popularly known as Rook Sopha. The then reigning king was Thuriya (1068—1072 B. E.) He was a weak and incompetent prince and had hardly any control over his people.

Turbulent spirits collected their followers and raided villages in their neighbourhood, the country was thrown into disorder and anarchy prevailed. The terror of the people was great and each took refuge and placed himself under the protection of one leader or another.

Of all these rebels (Tanda) Wezaya was the most successful; he fought against all others and defeated them one after another till he became a formidable leader. His success gradually extended and a great portion of the country submitted to and acknowledged his authority.

Thuriya became alarmed and finding himself powerless to resist WEZAYA, consulted his Ministers and abdicated the Throne.

Rooksopha was crowned king and assumed the title of SANDA-WIZAYA-RAJA in the year 1072 B. E.

He had a faithful captain, who was his trusted friend, had fought his battles and shared his fortunes. He was the mainstay of his greatness. For the services rendered, the king conferred on him the title of Governor of Northern Dabine now in Kyauktaw Township. A rebellion broke out at Padin which his captain easily suppressed and the king also gave him the title of the Governor of Padin in Ramree Township. Favours were heaped on his captain, as he became more successful in putting down rebellion in different parts of the country and the titles of

Governor or Myoza of Ramree, Thantaung and Tanlwe were given him in succession. The King's captain, henceforth known as DABINEGREE, was the most powerful man in the State. He was the favourite of the king and Commander-in-Chief of all his forces. He had 8 sons, all able-bodied, professing the use of arms and holding responsible posts in the army. The high nobles of the kingdom became jealous of him and whispered evil reports but the king was indifferent, knowing the virtues of his well-trying captain and took no heed of what they said. The king marched an army to Chittagong and defeated the forces stationed at Ramoo (Panwa). Taking all his prisoners of War, and captives, he sailed for Chittagong in his fleet with a greater portion of his forces. On the way they encountered a storm and a part of the fleet was destroyed. Thousands were drowned. The king himself was in danger and would have lost his life, had it not been for the timely aid given by his captain. DABINEGREE was very active, he was everywhere and saved many lives. He tended the survivors and the sick. The king was pleased with the humanity of DABINEGREE and for his services promised to confer on him the title Let-Wai-Mren, which he did after his return to Myouk-U. DABINEGREE is at times referred to also as Seikke in the Text.

On his return from the expedition DABINEGREE performed many works of merit. He built Monasteries, Theins and bridges in Thin-boon-pinze the place of his birth and also at Kywe-Khrandaung, where his wife was born (both in Pauktaw Township). His enemies were active in spreading ill news of him. They circulated rumours that his 8 sons were associating with evil-minded persons and if they were to collect a force and march on the capital, none would dare to oppose such leaders. The king was deaf to all these whisperings, he had every confidence in DABINEGREE and his sons. As a proof of his sincerity, he conferred the title of Than-Taung-Zar on Theindathu, the eldest son of Dabinegree and appointed the second son as King's Treasurer. Hearing the ministers and people speak continually ill of Dabinegree, the king reflected and thought to himself. "If the Seikke had any evil intention against me and aspired to the Throne he would not have rendered any succour to me and I would have met a watery grave on our way to Chittagong. And again when the palace was on fire, he jumped over the walls and forced the door and saved me from the flames." The king's mind was very much disturbed; he was undecided and uncertain. Thama was the husband of the king's eldest daughter Mouk-tin-gree. He was ambitious and wished to become king, but was afraid of DABINEGREE. He got his wife to speak to the king, and she poured poison into his ears. In an artless manner she deplored that her father was advanced in age and that her brother, the heir-apparent, was quite young and wielded no authority.

The whole country was under the power of DABINEGREE and all of them were at his mercy. The king was convinced. He caused secret enquiries to be made but no fault could be found. He devised plans for Dabinegree's destruction. An opportunity was soon found. In the island of Dingyee, not far from the capital city of Myauk-U, a tiger ap-

peared which attacked people even in the day time. On report being made to the king he ordered DABINEGREE to go and kill it. He did so. Another tiger haunted the hills near Poonagyun, and the king ordered his Seikke to proceed to the spot. He obeyed and met the tiger at its lair. The tiger sprang on him with a roar, with one stroke he cut the tiger in twain. A third tiger appeared in Wethali, to the South of Myauk-U and infested the surrounding jungle to the great annoyance of the people. The Seikke was ordered to fight the tiger and he gladly went. It was in the thick bushes and although many devices were resorted to, it could not be induced to leave its lair. The people made mats of split bamboos and threw them over the thick bushes. They stepped over them, and then only the tiger came with a loud roar and sprang on DABINEGREE who instantly killed it.

He had killed 3 tigers; the king was disappointed and not pleased. A fourth tiger appeared in Prahla island, fiercer than the others, strong and powerful and a terror to the neighbourhood. The king ordered him to go saying, "your sword is not of well tempered steel; I will provide you with one which I have in the palace—go forth with it and destroy the tiger."

DABINEGREE knowing the king was plotting against his life, muttered and said to himself, "Die I may, but I must do my duty and obey the king's order."

Hundreds of people came to the place, well armed with their swords and shields to see the sport, and the king himself went. Many remarked, "it is indeed strange! elephants are made to fight against elephants, horse against horse, but we have never seen a man made to fight against a tiger." So crowds collected. The beaters surrounded and gradually closed in and brought the tiger to an open field. DABINEGREE appeared followed by his faithful slave. He stood in front of the tiger, but it only backed and would not spring on him. He dodged to the back of the tiger, but it would not look at him and turned its face to the South. He went to the South facing the tiger but it skulked to the North with a loud roar. He moved to the North but the tiger would not spring on him. The king ordered immediate action and DABINEGREE rushed at the tiger as it sprang, and attacked it with the king's sword, which not being of good temper failed to cut the tiger in two, and he was badly mauled. His faithful slave came to his assistance and killed the tiger.

The king was pleased that DABINEGREE had been wounded and believed that he would die from blood poisoning, but he feigned sorrow, expressed his sincere regret with many sympathetic words and ordered him to be taken to his house for treatment. The sons of DABINEGREE, hearing of the misfortune that befell their father, came from different parts of the realm, tended and nursed him. The injuries were well treated and he was fast recovering. The king heard of it and was sick at heart at the prospect of his recovery. He resolved that he should not lose the opportunity without accomplishing his evil purpose. He expressed deep sorrow at the slowness of DABINEGREE'S recovery and condemned the medicine used. He prepared a concoction of his own

and announced his desire to visit his captain and apply his own infallible remedy. The evil intent of the king was obvious. The sons grinding their teeth for rage begged and prayed of their father to allow them to rebel. They said the king was determined to take his life and they could soon defeat the king's forces and destroy the country, and they repeatedly urged that the common good and prosperity of the country demanded the uprooting of the evil and the removal of their father's ill wishers. The father replied, "I have always served the king well and created many enemies, but the king has been misled. It is my demerit that brings me misfortune. If you, my sons, were to rise in rebellion and destroy the country, my life no doubt would be saved but posterity would view it with horror. Were I to die from these injuries, posterity will applaud my death as that of a true soldier who had obeyed the king's order even at the sacrifice of his life. Besides the king will reward you as sons of a true soldier and even if any one of my descendants chance to come to the Throne, he will be more powerful than others. Look into the future and bear misfortune with fortitude." The sons listened to the father's counsel and remained silent, being afraid to disobey. The king accordingly came to see his Seikke, accompanied by his guards; he operated on the wounds that were already healing, slicing off pieces of flesh and then applied his medicine and returned to the palace in happiness fully assured that he had accomplished his evil design. DABINEGREE rolled on his bed in pain and suffering and died to the sorrow of his countrymen.

The death of DABINEGREE cast a gloom over all the country and the king feigned sorrow and shed tears, saying that he was the prop of his kingdom and pillar of his State. He took charge of the effects of the deceased and distributed a portion among the wives and children and confiscated the remainder to the royal Treasury. He was happy in his seeming security, having disposed of a powerful but devoted servant. The king's son-in-law Thama saw the golden opportunity of realising his ambition of seizing the Throne for himself. The man he dreaded was no more. He set to work with energy and developed his plans, bought over the palace guards and hiding himself at the doorway murdered the king in cold blood.

He ascended the throne assuming the Title of Thuriya (1093—96 B. E.). He was proud, over-bearing, and tyrannical, and much addicted to drink. A reign of terror was inaugurated. The eldest son, Thantaungza, of DABINEGREE was an eye-sore to him, he bore a grudge which he could never forgive. He had consulted him once in former days to plot against the king, but received a severe reproof "that rebels live a short and miserable life and are enemies of the kingdom." Thuriya now being in power caused enquiries to be made against the conduct of Thantaungza. The news came to him but he was not afraid, confident that the king could do him no harm and relying on the assistance his brothers would render him in case of danger. One day the king ordered his attendance. His younger brother, the keeper of the king's Treasury, was suspicious and warned him not to go alone without

being armed. He took no heed and appeared in person. The king had ordered his guards to seize him on his return from the palace, but seeing him they were afraid and he returned home safely. Shortly after this, the king summoned Thantaungza and his younger brother, the treasurer, to appear before him and both obeyed. The king was full of sweetness and spoke to them very affectionately. He winked at his guards who rushed to seize the two brothers. They stood their ground, and fought against them. Than-taung-za had forced his way and reached the palace yard but there he was overpowered, seized and bound. The younger brother gained the palace yard and jumped over three walls but being severely wounded and exhausted, he took shelter in a Thein, where he was seized and taken to the place where his elder brother lay.

A strict search was made for the remaining brothers, but only one was found and arrested. They were ordered to be killed and taken to the place of execution. The sky was gloomy, the clouds gathered, lightning flashed, thunder roared, and torrents of rain poured down, and all was in darkness. It was getting late and the executioners carried on their work, they inflicting their deadly blows left them believing all were dead. The youngest one was severely wounded, his ropes had been cut, he lay near the corpses of his brothers, but feeling cold and chilly he crawled out from the place and reached a place of safety where he was carefully tended and looked after.

His other brothers were hunted from place to place by the king's order but every attempt was fruitless. The brother who escaped death was a young man of comely appearance, obedient and willing, bold, courageous and ever ready to do his duty. He won golden opinions from all who came in contact with him. It was brought to the notice of the king, who admiring his abilities took him in favour and as a mark of recognition married him to his sister's daughter and conferred on him the title of Pike-the-bine, giving him the revenues derived from fisheries. He had an elder brother whom he removed to a place of safety in Krinthin where he kept him in hiding and other brothers too lay concealed in different places.

Thuriya was assassinated by his son Naradi-badi (1096—97), who in turn was dethroned by a usurper Nara-pa-Wara (1097-99). On his death he was succeeded by his son Tsanda-Wi-Za-La 1099 B. E. Within a year of his ascension to the throne the Kattya Kalas rose in rebellion and attacked the palace at night. They occupied the Shwethoung-doung and Rwan-doung hills and fired their guns into the palace. There was a panic and the people were in terror. The king quitted the palace and collected his force. Placing them under the leadership of Thu-Nge-daw Thugyi and Thantaungza, he marched his forces to the Rakhadaung hill covering their heads with their shields, and carried on a furious cannonade. A stray shot killed the king and his forces retreated in a general rout.

The king's brother retired to the South. The Kala forces entered Myauk-U and occupied the palace. They pillaged the city and caused

a general destruction by fire and sword. The wrath of the people was great and they were longing for revenge.

Thu-Nge-daw Thugyi issued orders pointing out the supreme necessity of expelling the Kalas and restoring the throne to the rightful heir. Forces were collected and all rallied under his banner. Pikethebine attacked them with his men. The Kalas were routed everywhere and joined the forces, determined, as the country and Religion were in danger, to defeat the Kala forces and expel them from the country.

The army of the Kalas came marching from the North. Pikethebine attacked them with his men. The Kalas were routed every where and a general massacre ensued. They evacuated the palace and in their retreat thousands lost their lives. The heir-apparent was crowned king and assumed the title of Ma-da-rit (1099—1104 B. E.) The king conferred on Pikethebine the title of Than-taung-zar, in recognition of his services. After 6 years of peaceful reign Madarit died and was succeeded by Nara-apa-ya (1104—1123). One day while the king was out rambing in the country, he was chased by a ferocious bull. Than-taung-zar saw the dangerous plight of the king. He rushed at the bull, caught it by the horns and twisted its neck. The bull fell to the ground helpless frothing at the mouth. For this daring act the king conferred on him the title of Thaung-ran-Pyu.

A rebellion broke out in the South (Ramri side) headed by Mahabala and Pha Nyo. The king sent his son, the heir-apparent, at the head of his forces. When the army arrived at the place, the rebel forces remained in the jungle and refused to fight. They laughed and jeered at the king's soldiers, who waited for them at the outskirts of the jungle. Many became tired with waiting and murmured and openly expressed a desire to return.

Thantaungzar was equal to the occasion, he went everywhere, pacified the soldiers and collected large quantities of provisions. When preparations for a siege were completed he marched his forces into the jungle and engaged the rebels and defeated them. He collected the remnants of the rebel forces, treated them with moderation and mercy. After giving them the oath of allegiance, he returned home victorious. As a reward for his services the king married him to his youngest daughter, and appointed him tutor to his son, the heir-apparent, and conferred on him the title of "Ramrizar."

On the death of the king, he was succeeded by his son Thiri-thu, who died of small pox 3 months after his ascension to the throne. His brother Parama Raja came to the throne (1123—26). A rebellion arose from Gun Kyun at Lemyo and the country was thrown into disorder. Bands of rebels looted and pillaged the villages. The king was sad and became disgusted with life. Kingship was a burden to him, he found no happiness and his life was a burden. He collected his ministers, expressed a desire to become a priest, and abdicated the throne in favour of his brother-in-law, Ramrizar, who was crowned king on the 1st Lasan of Kason 1126 B. E. He assumed the title of Apaya-Maha-Raja (1126—1135 B. E.) He was the fourth son of DEBINEGREE, killer of tigers.

the person who miraculously escaped death at the hand of the executioners together with his two brothers. Virtue has its reward. By meritorious services, strict adherence to duty and unswerving loyalty Ramrizar came to the Throne in fulfilment of the prophetic words pronounced by his father DABINEGREE when sacrificing his life for king and country.

H TOON CHAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Maihongsong,
Siam.
2nd May, 1918.

The Editor,
Burma Research Society,
RANGOON.

Dear Sir,

I have been much puzzled by the numerous ruins of this part of the world, i. e., the district between Chiengmai on the east and Karenni and the Shan States on the west. The ruins are of two types. First the ordinary bell shaped pagoda, the best example of which are in the Me Kyem valley between Maihongsong and Chiengmai. There are scores of pagodas there in what must at one time have been an extensive paddy plain. All the pagodas have been ransacked and the very fine bronze images lying about have all had their heads wrenched off by treasure seekers. From the plain wide graded roads lead up to positions on the hills where there are remains of earthworks.

Secondly what appear to have been buildings of the Wat type. The Wat is the religious edifice common among the Siamese and Laos built of bricks in the form of a hall, open at one end and at the other an image of the Buddha. The priests live in a separate building. Many of these remains are on isolated spurs running out from the main hills and have the remains of wide roads running up to them from the paddy fields. They would appear to have been places of refuge as well as religion as they have been built in easily defended positions and the road always curves round in such a way as to come under attack from the walls above.

Any enquiry made as to the builders from local people brings the reply Luars, irrespective of the age of the ruins. Luars are still numerous in the hills between the Mai Yuam river and the Me Ping. They are spirit worshippers engaged in Taungyah cultivation and in places in smelting and working iron. They are dark in complexion and with more aquiline features than the other races common here. Like all hill people they are very dirty. Along the Mai Yuam river many villages are said to be Luar but the inhabitants are now undistinguishable from the ordinary Lao. The chief of Chiengmai is said to be of Luar descent and to pay respect to a Luar "nat" and it is the custom of his family that the first person to enter a new palace should be a Luar. Luars are

I believe admitted to be of Mon Khmer race and it is a curious fact that educated Talaings have told me that very many words of their language are similar to Mon. This is also the case as regards Khamoos who come across as labourers from French Indo-China.

Nearly all the hills between the Me Pai river and the Me Kyem show signs of former inhabitation, the most noticeable feature being the wide graded road leading up from a stream along the side of a hill to what has evidently been a village site on the spur. In many cases they have been defended by earth-works. The road crosses the spur and where it crosses it is sunken and circular earth works are dug above and below, that on the lower side being smaller.

Karens the present inhabitants of these hills dig of old Luar graves and obtain from them yellowish beads which they call "Pada." The beads appear to be made of some hard lacquer and are valued by the Karens, about an inch of them or say ten of them selling for a Rupee. Pottery is also obtained, such fragments as I have seen being glazed and of a Chinese type. There are several ruins of walled town in the country, these being of the usual square type defended by a ditch. In some cases the walls appear to have been earth, possibly surmounted by a stockade and with brick gateways, but I have seen one which had complete brick walls. In either case they show more energy in combination than the present inhabitants are capable of. These ruins are not necessarily ancient and I should put most of them down to about the time of the ruined pagodas mentioned above and much later than the fortifications on hill tops. I have called these last of the Wat type merely because they are surrounded by a square wall as the Wat usually is, but the Luar inhabitants were probably spirit worshippers as are their descendants.

The country is now very sparsely inhabited and the puzzle to me is what wiped out the former population which must have been large, judging by the ruins and traces of old cultivation, irrigation channels, etc., in most out-of-the-way places, in fact, wherever a piece of nearly level ground is to be found. My theory is the Luars were conquered and nearly absorbed by a Tai race forming the modern Lao; but who or what wiped out the population from here, about two hundred and fifty years ago, judging from the ruins and size of tree growing in them?

Can any member throw any light on the subject? This is not Burma but it is very close to Burma.

Yours faithfully,
J. C. C. WILSON.

NOTE ON Mr. WILSON'S LETTER.

Paragraph 1. The district referred to by Mr. Wilson is that between Chiangmai on the East and Karenni and the Shan States on the West. For centuries, this country has been the field of battle between the Burmans, Talaings, Shans, Karens, Siamese and Laos. The bell-shaped pagodas were apparently built by the Burmans or Talaings, or

under their influence. That all the pagodas have been ransacked should not be wondered at, because such a custom was in vogue among the Burmans, Talaings, and Shans.

Paragraph 2. Buildings of the *Wat* type are correctly ascribed to the Siamese and Laos, who evidently derived them from the Cambodians. At one time, the Cambodian Empire stretched from Tongking to the Gulf of Martaban. Probably, owing to the conquest of Yunnan by Kublai Khan in the 13th century A. D., the Shans or Tai were displaced in their own homeland and came down from the north, like a wedge, and carved out the modern Kingdom of Siam in 1350 A. D., thereby intersecting the Cambodian or Mon-Khmer Empire into two sections: the eastern belonging to the Khmers, and the western to the Mons. The *Wat* is a brick building, which is square or rectangular in plan, and consists of a single hall. It is open at one end, and at the other, which is closed, is installed an image of the Buddha on a high pedestal. The Upali Thein or Ordination Hall at Pagan answers this description. The Burmese expression ဝတ်တော်သင်္ဃို to attend an evening service in a *Wat* Temple is reminiscent of this type of building.

Paragraph 3. The Burmans do not differentiate the *Luar* from the *Lao*: both are called indiscriminately Lawa (လော). The builders were the Luars, who were merged in the Lao of Chiengmai, whose Chief is of Luar descent. Mr. Wilson proceeds to say: "Luars are, I believe, admitted to be of Mon-Khmer race and it is a curious fact, that educated Talaings have told me that very many words of their language are similar to Mon. This is also the case as regards Khamoos, who came across as labourers from French Indo-China." Judging by the linguistic test, it is interesting to note that the Luars, Talaings, or Mons, and Khamoos belong to the Mon-Khmer race. Chinese words of the Cantonese dialect are found in Talaing and other cognate languages, and it would appear that the Mon-Khmers entered Indo-China from the Chinese Provinces of Kuangtung and Kuangsi, which were annexed to the Chinese Empire in 111-109 B. C.

Paragraph 4. The existence of graded roads and earth-works indicates that the country was in military occupation, and was the bone of contention in the epic struggles of the contending races. The mention of "circular earthworks" is extremely interesting. They are called "*Balu-myo*" in Hsipaw in the Northern Shan States, and are described in paragraph 49, at pages 22-24 of my Report for the year ending 31st March 1918.

Paragraph 5. In common with the Chins and Karens, the Luars appear to believe in the existence of disembodied spirits after death, and to observe the custom of burying with their dead, beads and other personal ornaments as well as articles of domestic use, like pottery. Yellowish Chin beads have also been dug up from Chin graves near Mount Popa and they may be seen at the Pagan Museum. What strikes me most is that the fragments of pottery dug up from Luar graves should be "glazed and of a Chinese type." Kueilin in Kuangsi is the home of Chinese porcelain manufacture, and that the Luars and other Mon-

Khmers had a connexion with Southern China, as stated at the end of my comment on paragraph 3, is borne out by the discovery of fragments of Chinese glaze pottery in the Luar graves. Mr. Wilson says: "There are several ruins of walled towns in the country, these being of the usual square type defended by a ditch. In some cases, the walls appear to have been of earth, possibly surmounted by a stockade and with brick gateways, but I have seen one which had complete brick walls." This is the general type of an Indo-Chinese walled town or fortification, and specimens of it may be seen to this day at Pegu, Toungoo, Prome, Pagan, Ava, Sagaing, Shwebo, Amarapura, Mandalay, and Tagaung. Mr. Wilson adds "These ruins are not necessarily ancient, and I should put most of them down to about the time of the ruined pagodas mentioned above, and much later than the fortifications on hill tops." In fixing this approximate chronology, I think he is quite right. The dwellers on the plains, who built the ruined pagodas and the square walled towns, had attained to a higher degree of civilization than the rude tribesmen, who constructed the fortifications on the hill tops, and who had a hard struggle for their very existence.

Paragraph 6. This last paragraph is the most interesting part of Mr. Wilson's letter. He states: "The country is now very sparsely inhabited, and the puzzle to me is, what wiped out the former population, which must have been large, judging by the ruins and traces of old cultivation, irrigation channels, etc., in most out-of-the-way places, in fact, wherever a piece of nearly level ground is to be found." This is a description of a most heart-rending sight, which I have actually seen in the long stretch of fertile country, which extends from the back of Tagaung to Myadaung called မြင်းတောင် ဘုံ ရပ်။ This tract of country used to be the granary of the upper reaches of the river Irrawaddy as Kyaukse still is of the lower reaches. It was completely devastated by dacoit bands in 1786—1790, during the reign of Bodawpaya, who failed to pay his army of invasion, which was routed by the Siamese, the Burmese soldiers turning themselves into robbers and dacoits in order to recoup themselves. Devastating and exterminating wars, with their attendant plunder and rapine, must be the cause of the destruction of the large population alluded to by Mr. Wilson. He proceeds to say: "My theory is, the Luars were conquered and nearly absorbed by a Tai race forming the modern Lao, but who or what wiped out the population from here, about two hundred and fifty years ago, judging from the ruins and size of trees growing in them [I do not know]." I quite agree with Mr. Wilson in considering that the Luar were conquered and nearly absorbed by the modern Lao of Chiangmai. He thinks that, judging by the ruins and the size of the trees growing in them, the population must have been wiped out about 250 years ago. If we deduct 250 from 1900, we get 1650, or the middle of the 17th century A. D. If we refer to page 286 of Phayre's *History of Burma*, we find that No. 6, Pyi Meng, or Mahā Pawara Dhamma Rājā reigned at Ava from 1661 to 1672 A. D. His reign is described at pages 138-139. Cocks gives a more succinct description of it at page 99 of his *Short History of Burma*: "During these

events (harassment by the Chinese) in Upper Burma, a Talaing revolt instigated and assisted by the Siamese, occurred in the Southern part of the country. Martaban and Tavoy were seized by the rebels, and the Siamese occupied Zimmē (Chiengmai). In the year 1662, Martaban and Tavoy were re-occupied, and two years later, Zimmē (Chiengmai) also was recaptured." I am inclined to think that the depopulation of the country between Chiengmai on the east and Karenni and the Shan States on the west is due to the frequent assaults made on it by the Burmese Kings of Toungoo headed by Tabin Shweti (1540 to 1599 A. D.); as well as by the Talaing Kings of Pegu, who reigned before Tabin Shweti. The rulers of Pegu and Toungoo desired to expand their dominions and followed the line of least resistance by sending expeditions, from time to time, into that particular stretch of country.

TAW SEIN KO.

THE LACQUERWARE INDUSTRY.

The attention of members is invited to the following letter received from Mr. A. P. Morris, Provincial Art Officer. It is hoped that members in a position to do so, will render such assistance as he desires.

—*Editor.*

From

A. P. Morris, Esqr., B. Sc., A. M. Inst., C. E.,
Provincial Art Officer, Burma,
INSEIN.

To

The Honorary Secretary,
Burma Research Society,
RANGOON.

Dated the 24th June, 1918.

Sir,

I am proposing to take the lacquer ware as the industry for special treatment at the next art show. If any of the members of the Burma Research Society can help me to get at old lacquer ware and can supply me local notes on the history of this industry, I shall be much obliged if they will write to me, for I should like to make the exhibit as complete as possible.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
A. P. Morris,
Provincial Art Officer, Burma.

THE LEGEND OF ANDAW PAGODA, SANDOWAY.

Dawrawaddi or Sandoway as it is now called is invested with a romance and a glamour whose parallel is hardly to be met with even in the whole range of most wonderful stories connected with the romantic East. In days long before history was born when rakshas or cannibals overran the rest of Arakan the colonists from India found it a fair and flourishing city, having within it all the evidences of settled government. But in the course of several subsequent centuries originating probably in a great social upheaval among the races of the sub-himalyan regions Arakan began to be peopled by constant streams of immigration from the north. A short but effectual struggle ensued terminating in the triumph of civilisation over all the grosser forms of barbarism. Thus the cannibals were completely wiped out from the land of their birth and the former scenes of anarchy and lawlessness gradually gave place to an unbroken continuity of cultivated fields.

It is not at all surprising therefore that under such fair conditions the people prospered, increased and multiplied establishing in course of time a form of government not altogether unlike those they were already accustomed to. Thus with organised social life bringing along with it the birth of dynasties Arakan rose in power as a separate kingdom until finally it absorbed the small but independent state of Sandoway.

From this time onward the fortunes of Sandoway was for the most part bound up with those of Arakan. But there were occasions still, though few and far between, when owing to effete Arakanese administration Sandoway regained her independence which unfortunately for her was never of any appreciable duration. Yet for all that she had a small history of her own in which are recorded the names of a few illustrious kings whose achievements fitly deserve the applause of posterity.

Towards the latter half of the 13th century of the Christian era king Zè Chook reigned independently over Sandoway while at the same time Mindi ruled over Arakan. Sandoway must have been very prosperous in those days for we are told that ships from the maritime states of India and from Ceylon used to make it a regular place of call. It was Min Zè Chook who built the original Andaw Pagoda the fame of which was so great at the time that Mindi of Arakan invaded the country and annexed it to his already extensive possessions simply for the sake of obtaining the right to say that it (Pagoda) belonged to his kingdom.

I shall now endeavour to give the story of its construction in the fewest words possible:

A *koyin* (a monk who has not fully entered the order) from Dagoon (Rangoon) on his return home from Ceylon surreptitiously brought away a molar of Buddha. The ship in which he sailed deviating from its course by contrary winds at length suddenly stopped off the coast of Sandoway. The sailor tried their best to make the vessel go but all their efforts were in vain. So attributing this unusual occurrence to some mysterious cause they resolved to search the vessel in the hopes of find-

ing something which according to the superstition of those times may be deemed to have directly caused the event.

Minute investigation brought to light the precious relic hidden in the alms bowl of the owner. It was a beautiful object to behold, possessing a lustre altogether too wonderful to describe. Their hearts at once filled with awe and veneration, men eagerly pressed forward to look at and adore it, when suddenly the holy relic miraculously rose up into the air and flying across the small expanse of water alighted on the rocky coast. Immediately after, the ship moved off enabling the men to continue their hitherto interrupted journey. Some time afterwards a wild boar in search of food while passing that way was attracted by the shining object and forthwith carried it off to its lair.

Nga Ba Laung dwelt at Sandoway and was a very poor man who earned his livelihood by hunting. One day while stalking game in the forest not far from the town he came across the animal's lair. Seeing the sacred relic he mistook it for a precious gem worth a king's ransom. So he in turn took it home and kept it in a safe place at the head of his bed. From this time onward Nga Ba Laung became wealthy which was all the more surprising as everybody knew that he was neither interested in industry nor commerce of any description which should give him a right to the acquisition of such wealth. Naturally there were all sorts of wild speculations as to the source of the man's marvellous good fortune. Eventually the king hearing of it summoned the hunter to his presence and commanded him to relate in detail the story of his sudden prosperity.

When all the circumstances were made known the king promptly exercised his prerogative by confiscating the property. But in a dream Min Zè Chook was informed of the true nature of the object he held in possession, telling him at the same time that it should be enshrined in a suitable pagoda for the worship and benefit of all those who professed the Buddhist Faith. He was further told that the ground covered by the royal palace was the most suitable site for the construction of the pagoda. The building was then raised without delay and the debris removed; and whatever was left of it being washed away by three days of continuous rain.

While these preparations were going on apace the *Koyin* who had by that time reached Dagoon set out again for Sandoway with the object of recovering his property. While still on the way the king was informed of the fact by a dream. Orders were then immediately issued against the admission of all Burmans within the city walls till the completion of the pagoda. This happily averted what would have then been considered a national disaster while at the same time the new structure marked an epoch in the history of Buddhism in Sandoway. When king Mindi of Arakan heard of this he became exceedingly jealous of his neighbour's good fortune. Finding a suitable pretext for war he invaded the country with a large army. King Zè Chook was captured and sent as a close prisoner to Arakan. Mindi then gave out that the original building did not do sufficient justice to the highly sacred character of the relic

which it contained. So he caused the original pagoda to be built over in a way most suitable to his own fancy and design. But at the present day it has completely lost its ancient architectural features owing to the many changes it has undergone by repairs put to it by pious Arakanese kings through the roll of centuries.

SAN SHWE BU.

A REPLY TO Dr. ROSS ON BUDDHISM.

1. Dr. G. R. T. Ross is again on war path. We have long abstained from quarrelling with him, but the quarrel has been forced on us.

Dr. Ross is a very able man and I have every respect for his ability and learning. He feels at home on any subject and is probably so on every subject except Buddhism. When the *Compendium of Philosophy* appeared, leading psychologists and philosophers of Europe and America wrote appreciative letters to Mrs. Rhys Davids. Dr. Ross, however, saw nothing in this hoary little manual but the brandishing of the intellectual sword in the age of Parmenides. There was some excuse then, as he was new to the heart of Buddhism. But he had been some time in the country when Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology* was published. Nevertheless, he failed to see any logic in Buddhism. Therefore, I am not in the least surprised at his present attitude towards Buddhism and his scathing criticisms.

2. Logic is the art or science of reasoning. Dr. Ross on p. 63 of Vol. VIII, Part I, of this Journal, would define it as 'reflection on argument' and he explains it a little further on as 'systematic reasoning upon reasoning.' He concedes that there is an 'immense amount of acute dialectical argument' in Buddhism, but only complains of the lack of reflection or reasoning upon reasoning. He instances a very neat illustration of a fallacy by Buddhaghosa, but he also expects the author to set forth the *formula* of that fallacy. That is to say, a writer of a reasoned discourse on any subject must at the same time incorporate in it a treatise in logic. Surely no scientific or philosophic writer in the course of reasoning *upon his subject* busies himself with the task of a logician by systematically reasoning *upon his reasoning*.

3. Now for the thorough-going confusion between logic and reasoning. Apart from a dictionary meaning of the word logic as 'correct reasoning,' let us attend to the philosophical writings of Bergson and Russell. Bergson contrasts intuition with intellect and when he condemns logic, he condemns the reasoning powers, i. e., the reasoning itself as a function of intellect. His critic Russell vindicates logic as an essential instrument of philosophy. Both these writers appear to me to have used the word logic as a synonym of reasoning, for in condemning or vindicating reasoning, reasoning upon reasoning is also condemned or vindicated. So I misunderstood Dr. Ross.

4. I do not know if Dr. Ross generally swears when he is reasoning upon probabilities. But he expected me to do so. He has endeavoured to show me up by an uncalled-for reference to the style of argumentation adopted by me in my philological dissertations. I am not sure if Dr. Ross is also a philologist. But it is curious that Mr. Blagden, a recognised authority on philology, has, in spite of my imperfect reasonings, taken a more charitable view.

5. A word on a side-issue. When the major premise in the Indian syllogism is read as 'Whatever is smoky is fiery,' as it ought to have been written, for it was but a slip of the pen, the glaring undistributed middle will disappear. Again, the major premise was obtained by induction and the minor, by observation. Therefore, there was no implied prosyllogism with an illicit minor from which either of the premises was arrived at. The Indians merely inferred the presence of fire from that of smoke, as we say 'No fire, no smoke.' This inference of B from A is as old as human thought. I still hold that logic was taught at Taxilla anterior to Aristotle. The question of historical derivation or of influence of one system upon another is, however, a mere side-issue, as Dr. Ross has rightly claimed.

6. Russell speaks of atomic and molecular propositions of his Chemical logic, so to speak. Buddhists made use of these, though the new nomenclature are peculiar to Russell. Russell speaks of relations and I have pointed out where Buddhism agrees with, and differs from, him. The correspondence sought was not so much in details as in the general resemblance in the use of logic as an instrument of philosophy. I pointed out that Buddhist general propositions could not have been arrived at without the aid of inductive logic. Therefore, a Buddhist is a Russell in principle in so far as he does not dispense with logic.

7. Dr. Ross writes: Unfortunately the main object of U Shwe Zan Aung's articles seems to be not so much to explain Buddhism as to force an identity between the doctrines of these modern writers and those of Buddhism. And he asks: How can two things hostile to each other be judged both to be identical with the third? My avowed object was to mediate between the two hostile knights. In my opinion they are hostile merely in so far as they consider the complimentary to be the contradictory. Is it altogether impossible for a third to reconcile both? The learned Doctor might as well have said that a whole cannot contain its parts!

8. Dr. Ross says that the question of the reason for correspondences and similarities has certainly interest. But I was mainly concerned not with the reason but with the correspondences themselves. And if I be so fortunate as to find any correspondence, I am not extending my patronage to Bergson or Russell, but I should be merely admiring their unconscious patronage of Buddhism. It is not a case of blundering upon some of the truths known to Buddhism but a case of independent discovery. Is there anything to be melancholy about it?

9. It is rather significant that my learned critic should have tumbled upon a footnote. Here he does not appear to have fully grasped the

significance of the gold coin illustration. Bergson was illustrating the relation of *contrast* between the absolute and the conditioned. The gold coin stands for the reality and the small change represents the endless varieties of concepts, views or aspects of the same. Now in the Buddhist illustration the gold coin also stands for the reality of which we have various kinds of knowledge. The small change of Bergson corresponds to the boy's and the adult's views or knowledge(s) in the Buddhist illustration. It is the resemblance of contrasting concepts (*paññatti-dhammas*) with the reality (*paramattha-dhamma*), that struck me as significant.

10. To pass from the footnote to the body of the articles. Dr. Ross finds that the Buddhist theory of flux is not confined to Buddhism and that Bergson is nearer Buddhism in not excepting even the personality. So much agreement he admits. But he takes exception to my procedure of equating the above doctrine, viz., that concrete objects are in a continual flux, with Bergson's assertion that the very essence of reality is its mutability. Dr. Ross has wrongly ascribed to me words 'concrete objects.' If I had used the expression elsewhere I would have meant by it all objects contradistinguished from mere abstract ideas.

In Buddhism, the former are *paramattha-dhammas* and the latter, *paññatti-dhammas*. I have rendered the term *paramattha* by reality. By the real, I have pointed out that Buddhists mean the existing (*vijjā-māna*). The word *paramattha* is also often explained by *uttama* (ultimate). *Paramattha-dhammas* include mind, matter and Nibbana. Mind and matter are spoken of as aggregates (*Khandhas*). These *khandhas*, if known as they really are (*yathābhūta*) from within by an Ariyan, are noumena but, if known from without as they appear to observers, are phenomena. Hence Mrs. Rhys Davids' rendering of *paramattha* by ultimate phenomena. If Dr. Ross were to take a little more trouble to refer to Ledi's original on pp. 237 and 238 of the *Yamaka*, Vol. II, published by the Pali Text Society he would have satisfied himself that the pronoun 'they,' for which I parenthetically added 'realities,' stands for *paramattha-dhammas*, before he made a serious charge of wilful misquotation against me.

11. Now mind and matter are admittedly changing. And if the criterion of reality be permanence, they would be unreal (*non-paramattha*)! But neither Ledi nor any other Buddhist writers would grant that. Buddhists have not inferred the unreality from the change. And it is not implied anywhere in Buddhism, as Dr. Ross would like his readers to believe, that if there were not the constant change, the idea of a permanent self *would* correspond to a reality. I am afraid that the learned Doctor is too prepossessed with his idea of a permanent self as the only reality. There is no such thing as the permanent self in Buddhism. And the Buddhist world will only smile at his patronage of Buddhism in the name of his 'universal prepossession.' Dr. Ross himself admits that Ledi urges that there is nothing in fact corresponding to our conception of an 'unchanging person or entity.' This unchanging entity denied by Ledi is the permanent self (*attā*), the *bête noire* of Buddhism.

12. Ledi is most explicit in regarding the change as the very essence of distinction between a paramattha-dhamma on the one hand and a paññatti-dhamma on the other. It is true that Ledi has made a sole reservation in favour of Nibbana to which the words 'sassata' (permanent) or 'dhuva' (constant) have been applied. But these two words must never be understood in the sense of abiding permanence, the sense which the eternalists or the advocates of the *sassata* view adopted. When I used the word 'eternal' I used it not in the sense of 'endless in time' but in that of 'out of time,' as I would have used the word 'infinite' not in the sense of 'endless in space' but 'out of space.' The Pali expression is Kāla-vimutta (lit. freed from time).

13. Now, the first law of a paramattha-dhamma (reality)¹ is that it must be *existing*. And Nibbana, which is a paramattha-dhamma, cannot form an exception to this rule. As the reality of realities, it must be existing. Otherwise it would not be a paramattha-dhamma at all. If existing, it must be *present* at any given moment. How can that which is present in time be looked upon as out of time? The only possible explanation is that while Nibbana must be present to a contemporary observer from outside, it is experienced or lived (paṭivijjha viharati) independent of all time coceptions by those who view it from within by penetrative wisdom (paṭivedha-ñāṇa). Nibbana is not death. It is the Accuta or Amata, the Deathless. If it be life as lived by the Ariyan, it must be in a flow like other paramattha-dhammas. That is, Nibbana of to-day cannot be the same as that of yesterday. According to Dr. Ross, what is 'really real' (as though there is something unreally real, a contradiction in thought which does not appear to have been patent even to a logician like Dr. Ross) is not the living that is ever changing but the dead that does not move. But we Buddhists do not deny the grim realities of present life as wordlings know, nor do we deny the realities of life as lived by the Elect.

14. Dr. Ross grants that Bergson's philosophy is based upon an intense study of life but denies that study to Indians. Every Buddhist student will disagree with him in so far as he denies that it was the intensest study of life that led to the Great Renunciation of the Buddha.

15. Dr. Ross acknowledges that both Bergsonism and Buddhism arrived at the identical theory of soullessness by different routes. What does it matter if we arrive at the same destination by different routes? But I was mainly concerned with the theory of reality.

16. Life appears to intellectual apprehension of outside observers as a succession of solidified states. By state is meant a momentary existence of that life. Therefore for purposes of explanation, a Buddhist psychologist (mark I do not say philosopher) divides conscious life into states. But to an Ariyan experiencing it from within, life is fluid (nadīsoto viya—like a river in a flow). Bergson speaks of real time as opposed to abstract time which is divided into a powder of moments. By real time he means *duration*. By duration is meant the enduring, the living. According to both systems, then, there is continuity which *appears* as a succession of states.

17. That Dr. Ross has not deeply studied Buddhism is clear from his very vague statement, that identified Bergson's intuition with 'some function described by Buddhism, i.e., the insight of the *Points of Controversy*.' Intuition which is described as penetration (paṭivedha-ñāṇa) in the subject-heading of Discourse 9 on p. 130 of the *Points* is contrasted with analysis on p. 133. But I admit that it requires a deeper study than a mere superficial reading of an adverse critic to discern this contrast. When Dr. Ross does not fully understand, he invariably resorts to the expedient of doubting the correctness of the translation. This spirit or attitude of mistrust is characteristic of our learned critic. In her translation of Dr. Ledi, Mrs. Rhys Davids rendered the Pali word paṭivedha-ñāṇa by intuitive knowledge. I have all along endeavoured to show that it is identical with Bergson's intuition. But Dr. Ross says: Whether what is here rendered in English 'intuitive knowledge' has any affinities with Bergson's intuition once more does not appear. Does he expect the translator to bring out the affinities or does he expect Dr. Ledi to refer to Bergson?

Bergson, in his *Introduction to Metaphysics* explains at greater length and in greater detail than in his other books exactly what he means to convey by the word intuition. "For this reason," says the translator, "every writer who has attempted to give a complete exposition of M. Bergson's philosophy has been obliged to quote this essay at length; it is indispensable, therefore, to any full understanding of its author's position." Dr. Ross has rendered himself conspicuous by his own omission to refer to this work.

18. Dr. Ross has not always been happy in his attempts to expound Buddhism. A concept in Buddhism is, according to him, an arbitrary idea attached to a word without any corresponding reality. But we have concepts of realities as well (vijjamāna-paññatti).

19. But what appears to me to be the unpardonable fault of Dr. Ross, if I may be permitted to say so, is that he poses as an authority on Buddhism. For instance, he wanted us to translate the word aviparīta into 'not liable to change.' Perhaps he has got this meaning from a student who does not very well understand the Burmese expression မောက္ခိယ in this connection. I sent Ledi's note in original for publication side by side with my translation thereof. But the learned editor thought it was sufficient to publish the English translation. Now he is a fine Pali scholar and had he thought that I mistranslated Ledi's interpretation of the word aviparīta, he would have published the original as well.

But let us see whether Dr. Ross' suggested rendering will hold water.—

All paramattha-dhammas are aviparīta.

Mind and matter are paramattha-dhammas.

Therefore mind and matter are aviparīta.

That is, mind and matter are 'not liable to change'!

As a thorough-going logician, Dr. Ross deals with words instead of with ideas. But in order to understand Buddhism, it is necessary to enter into the spirit of Buddhism.

20. Dr. Ross' settled habit seems to be to accuse every sympathetic writer on Buddhism, like Ananda Mitteya and Mrs. Rhys Davids, with partisanship. And he has also regarded me as a partisan in the East versus West controversy. He seems to hold that East is East, West is West and never the twain shall meet. Even L. March Phillips has changed that view. But assuming that there is such a controversy, is my attempt to reconcile both an attitude of a partisan?

21. It is not necessary for a Buddhist to cease to be a Buddhist in order to appreciate either Bergson or Russell or any other in so far as they go along with us.

Dr. Ross thinks that I am dissatisfied with the present attitude of traditional Buddhism. Buddhist writers are conservative and have endeavoured to be consistent. Now and again, we may have a controversy amidst our own ranks owing to different interpretations of one and the same passage. But the more I study traditional Buddhism as it has come down to us in writings, the more I have reason to be satisfied with it.

SHWE ZAN AUNG.

IS THERE ANY SEPARATE TEMPLE DEDICATED TO BRAHMĀ IN INDIA?

There is a legend current among Hindus that Mahésvāra or Siva cursed Brahmā, and that, as a result, Brahmā is not worshipped in separate temples. This belief in the absence of separate temples dedicated to Brahmā appears to be confirmed by Professor Monier Williams, who states:

"And here, too, lies the motive for religious worship addressed to personal gods and visible forms. For one means of attaining liberation is by paying homage to the Supreme Spirit as manifested in persons and objects. And, indeed, it is a cardinal feature of the Brāhmanical system, that the Universal Spirit can never itself be directly or spiritually worshipped, except by turning the thoughts inwards. *No shrine or temple to Brahmā is to be found throughout all India.* The one eternal Spirit can only become an object of meditation or knowledge. The Spirit is to be known by the spirit; for he is enshrined in every man's heart; and this internal meditation is regarded as the highest religious act, leading as it does to perfect spiritual knowledge. In short the supreme Brahmā is properly only an object of internal knowledge (jñeyam), never an object of external worship (upāsyaṁ) except through secondary manifestations."¹ The learned Professor's dictum that "*No shrine or temple to*

¹ Vide at page 49 of his *Religious Thought and Life in India*.

Brahmā is to be found throughout all India" is perfectly true; but there is a confusion of terms. *Brahma* (with the short final *a*) and *Brahmā* (with the long final *ā*) are two different deities. *Brahma* is the One Eternal Spirit, who first created the waters, and deposited within them a seed which became a golden egg, from which sprang *Brahmā*. *Brahma* is an Ineffable Essence and cannot be represented by means of material objects, while *Brahmā*, a member of the Hindu Triad, can be so represented.

The worship of *Brahmā* was evidently in vogue in India in Vedic times, and disappeared, but not completely, as is generally supposed, at the appearance of the *Purāṇas*. Kennedy says: "The cessation, therefore, of *Brahmā's* worship appears to have taken place during the interval that may have elapsed between the composition, or extraction from the *Vēdas*, of the *Upanishads* and the compilation of the *Purāṇas*; for in these last works no mention occurs of either rites or ceremonies or festivals, or temples or holy places being dedicated to *Brahmā*, nor in them is there recorded a single legend to attest and magnify his divine power."² The cult, however, lingered on in neighbouring countries, as Cambodia, where ruins of remarkable temples of *Brahmā* have been found. In Burma itself, the four colossal figures of the Buddha, placed back to back and facing the cardinal points, found at Kyaikpi-Kyaikpun at Pegu, and in the Ananda Temple at Pagan, indicate strong traces of this ancient cult, which appears to have reached Burma from India direct as well as through Cambodia.

In India, temples dedicated to *Brahmā* have been discovered; but they are few and far between. "The Temple of *Brahmā* at Khed-Brahma" in the State of Idar is described by Mr. H. Cousens, late Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Bombay Circle, at pages 171—78 of the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Part II, for 1906—07. Twelve other temples dedicated to *Brahmā* have also been found, namely, one at Pushkar in Rājputānā; one at Dudāhi; one at Vasantgadh in Rājputānā; one at Unkal near Hubli; and eight in the Dhārwar District.

TAW SEIN KO.

² Vide *Hindu Mythology*, page 281.

FORTY YEARS IN BURMA.

[Forty Years in Burma by the Rev. Dr. Marks; with a foreword by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, edited with a selection of the Author's letters and reports, by the Rev. W. C. B. Purser, M. A., Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Rangoon].

Dr. Marks belongs to a former generation in Burma and the number of his contemporaries is now very small. His memoirs will however be found interesting to many who only know him by name as a record of conditions in Burma in preannexation days. The book

has been compiled from Dr. Marks' own papers by the Rev. W. C. B. Purser who supplies an excellent introduction and has moulded the notes and diaries left by Dr. Marks into a continuous narrative.

Dr. Marks' connection with Burma began in 1859 when he volunteered to serve the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for mainly educational work "anywhere where the needs of the Society are greatest." He was then a young layman who had already had considerable teaching experience in London and elsewhere. He was sent to Maulmein travelling in a ship of 235 tons which took six months on the journey.

His educational and missionary work is well known and the book has already been reviewed locally mainly from this standpoint. The general public will be most interest in noticing how the conditions in Burma have changed since Dr. Marks' time. For instance when he was taken ill in Moulmein there were no proper nurses available and the only hospital attendants were convicts from the Jail Dispensary. One of these, who had been sent to the house to look after him, seeing his weak state tried to strangle him, but the house servants hearing his call for help came in time to rescue him from his assailant. On enquiry being made it was found that this hospital attendant, who had been sent to nurse a sick man, was a Thug who had been sentenced to death for murder but whose sentence has been commuted to penal servitude for life. In 1863 he was ordained in Calcutta by Bishop Cotton and it was decided that he should go to Rangoon and open a School there,—St. John's College (still known as Saya Mat Kyoung) of which he was Principal till his retirement from the S. P. G. in 1895. Although his founding of the S. P. G. Royal School, Mandalay, will always be remembered as one of the romances of Mission work, it is with St. Johns that his name is mainly connected. Several houses in Rangoon were used temporarily for the School but the present site was purchased on the advice of the Chief Commissioner, who took a keen interest in the School at the upset price of Rs. 200,—the present value is estimated at Rs. 10,000 per acre. The best testimony to Dr. Marks' work as an educationalist is the fact that his old boys subscribed monthly for over 15 years to provide a pension for their old Saya and that even after his death they are still subscribing to build a church and establish scholarship at St. John's as a permanent memorial to him.

In 1868, the Thonzai Prince, owing to family troubles came to Lower Burma and visited St. John's College, where he was much impressed by the relations between Dr. Marks and his boys. On his reconciliation with his father Mindon Min he told him about the School and a royal invitation was sent to Dr. Marks asking him to come to Mandalay and found a similar School. At his first interview the King promised to build and maintain the School and also to build a church at his own expense, refusing the offer of any contributions saying "I am a King, I want no assistance in work of merit." "The only contribution that he allowed was that of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, who when she heard of King Mindon's liberality, of her own accord sent out

a most beautiful font of variegated marbles in token of her appreciation of the King's kindness."

Dr. Marks was a frequent visitor at the Palace and had unique opportunities of forming an estimate both of Mindon Min's character and also of that of Thibaw, who was sent by the King with eight other of his sons to Dr. Marks for education in the School.

"Of Mindon Min I would speak with gratitude and respect. Personally I found him to be a good Burmese Scholar, a gentleman with much of kingly dignity but of very narrow ideas concerning the relations of his Kingdom—or Empire as he chose to call it with other states. He believed himself to be at least an equal of the most powerful monarch in the world. He had a horror of bloodshed. He had a genuine desire for the prosperity of his country of which however he knew very little except from the report of his ministers."

A remarkable instance of the King's credulity is given by Dr. Marks who was sent for one day in hot haste early one morning to his great surprise. On his arrival the King ordered a herald to read out a Burmese translation of a pamphlet of the "Battle of Dorking" series entitled "How the Russians took India."—

"I listened with interest and amusement, the King with his binoculars, watching my face the whole time. When the reading was finished, His Majesty with great satisfaction, said to me: 'There English Priest, what do you say to that?' I told him that I had some weeks previously read that pamphlet, which was not history but only a parable to warn England what might possibly happen unless due precautions were taken. The King was incredulous but was finally convinced and saying, 'Then I have been deceived and made a fool of, broke off the audience quitting the hall in great anger.'"

Later on we are told—"Mindon Min longed for the restoration of the Lower Provinces to his Kingdom. He trusted for that restoration to the magnanimity and generosity of the British Government when it should be seen how wisely and justly he ruled His own Kingdom."

Side by side with this last extract may be read Dr. Marks' account of his interview with Sir John Lawrence, Viceroy of India, when the possibility of annexing Upper Burma was mentioned. "He (Sir John) acknowledged that King Mindon was a good monarch...with all this I perfectly agreed. 'But' I said 'my knowledge of the conditions of Burma convinces me that its annexation by us is only a matter of time.' Sir John rose from his chair with more anger than I deemed him capable of and said: 'If you wish to remain a friend of mine you will never use that hateful word annexation in my presence again. Let me say once and for all, we cannot afford to annex Upper Burma, we neither desire it nor are capable of accomplishing it.'" Dr. Marks had considerable difficulty in getting permission to go to Mandalay at all, as the Viceroy suspected the King's intentions. "He (the King) wishes to use you politically, and if you should not come up to his expectations in this respect, you will be imprisoned or murdered and we shall share trouble with the Burmese Government, which is just the very

thing which we wish to avoid: Don't go." Dr. Marks replied that he would absolutely refrain from all politics and that as he believed he was acting in obedience to God's call, he would be under His protection. When Sir John found he was determined to go he consented saying "Go my dear fellow and God's blessing be with you." The King helped loyally in the work for two years but then became irregular in his payments in support of the School and when pressed for payment would ask Dr. Marks to help him to get "guns and rifled cannon, which, of course I neither could nor would." At last one day he proposed that Dr. Marks should go to England, taking with him two or three of the princes and "tell Queen Victoria how good he (the King) had been, and ask her to give back to his Government, Bassein or Rangoon that he might have a seaport of his own." When Dr. Marks refused he got very angry and said hastily "Then you are of no use to me." This was the end. Dr. Marks never saw the King again, although he went to the Palace several times; "at last the King said he did not want me anymore, and that I had better leave his capital adding that my life might be in danger if I stayed." "I sent back word that having come by his invitation, I certainly should not leave, except at my appointed time, some eight months later and stayed on." "At last at the appointed time January 25, 1875 I departed saying that I would not return to Mandalay till the British flag floated over it! My prophecy was fulfilled when I revisited it ten years afterwards and preached to the garrison of British regiments within the hall of the Royal Palace—Itself the temporary chapel of the troops."

Dr. Marks' account of Thibaw and Supayalat will be read with special interest. "Thibaw was a quiet, inoffensive, docile lad, without any particular vice or virtue to distinguish him from the other boys of his age. He was obedient and orderly and gave but little trouble." Of Supayalat he says "As a child I had known her to be cruel and vindictive. Her mother knew of her weakness and condoned it. As far as I was able to judge, it seemed to me that the mother's idea was that by encouraging her in her badness, her daughter would acquire authority (*awza*). Supayalat as a child used to catch birds and tear them limb from limb in mere wanton cruelty. It was her way of enjoying herself."

When King Mindon was on his deathbed his chief queen the Hsinbyu-ma Shin determined to seize the throne for Thibaw, who had married her daughter Supayalat. She won over the ministers, and all the royal princes were summoned to visit King Mindon in his chamber. Believing the order emanated from him they came to the place and were immediately imprisoned. Two only escaped and were hidden by Dr. Mark's successor, the Rev. James Colbeck in the Royal School till they could escape disguised as Tamil servants. The princes who had been imprisoned were not massacred for some months after Thibaw's accession but "when he heard of the British disaster at Isandhalwana he thought that there was no longer cause to fear Great Britain. In a few days eighty-six of his blood relations were battered or choked to death or buried alive, and a large number of their friends perished with them. The *Hpoung Wun* was the chief agent of the massacre and he revelled in

dashing young children against the wall and committing other barbarities in the presence of Thibaw and Supayalat who heartily applauded."

Dr. Marks apparently left very little record of his work in Burma after the annexation, his chief work now was carrying on and extending St. John's College, though he frequently visited and preached at up-river Stations and acted as chaplain at Tavoy and Mergui. After a severe illness in 1895 he resigned his work at St. John's and became chaplain at Moulmein when he stayed till 1898 when he was invalided home. He came back to Burma for a visit in the cold weather of 1900—1 on the invitation of the Old Boys by whom he was royally received. On his return to England, he settled down in Croydon where his house was a centre for his old Burma friends." He continued active work on behalf of the S. P. G., going "on deputation" all over the country, preaching and lecturing his work in Burma. He died literally in harness having engagements to preach at the time of his death in October 1916.

The Editor sums up Dr. Marks' work as an educationalist by saying "It was in the more restricted sense as a schoolmaster that his work commends itself to us. His genius in this direction is unquestioned. He had a passionate love for boys and an extraordinary way of winning their affection. He was ready to give anything in his power to help his "sons" as he called them. His time, his money, his health were all given for their welfare." It is not to be wondered at that affection shown in so real and practical a form was reciprocated by his pupils. Devotion to "The Doctor" amounted almost to a cult, which, after his retirement, showed itself in the formation of the "Marks' Memorial Fund," the association of Old Boys to which allusion has already been made as providing for his pension and a permanent memorial of his work.

J. T. B.

THE BUDDHIST RUINS AT SAÑCHI*

Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, has laid the Buddhist world in general and Orientalism in particular, under a great obligation by restoring the Buddhist ruins at Sañchi, since 1912, and by compiling a most interesting guide-book. Our indebtedness to the enlightened Muhammadan Ruler of Bhopal is no less great because the exploration and preservation of these remains were due to the active interest, sympathy, and generosity of Her Highness, and the guide-book is, therefore, appropriately dedicated to her. It is a happy augury of this cosmopolitan age, and of the good times that are in store for India that a Muhammadan Begum should take an abiding interest in the conservation of Buddhist remains.

The monuments of Sañchi, the noblest of all the buildings which Early Buddhism has bequeathed to India, have come down to us almost

* *A Guide to Sañchi* by Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, published by the Superintendent, Government Printing, India, Calcutta; Rs. 2-8-0.

intact because they never suffered from the glare of fame and publicity, which has its decided drawbacks and penalties. Situated in a sequestered corner of India, which is off the beaten tracks, they were ignored by the ancient Indian writers as well as by the Chinese Pilgrims, who practically founded Indian Archaeology; and, after a lapse of over two thousand years, they have been re-discovered and renovated.

The ancient name of Sañchi was Kākanāda, and it may be identified with the Chetiyagiri of the *Mahāvamsa* or the Buddhist Chronicle of Ceylon. Near by, is Vidisā, the capital of Ākara or Eastern Mālwa, the birth-place of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā, who headed the Buddhist Mission to Ceylon. Here, their father, the Emperor Asoka, who reigned in the third century B. C., and whom the Burmans call "Da-mā-thawka," set up one of his edict pillars as well as other monuments; here, the Buddhists established themselves for the first time during the life-time of Asoka; and here, the *Saṅgha* or the Buddhist Brotherhood was an object of special interest and solicitude to the great Emperor, who has rightly been called the Constantine of Buddhism. Sir John Marshall is inclined to think that the specimens of sculpture including the edict-bearing pillar at Sañchi, which are ascribed to Asoka, are not Indian, but Perso-Greek in style, and that there is every reason to believe that they were the handiwork of foreign, probably Bactrian, artists. Bactria, at that period, acting as a connecting link between India on the one hand, and Persia, Assyria, Asia Minor, and Greece on the other.

Sañchi or Chetiyagiri *vis-a-vis* Vidisā reminds us of Sagaing *vis-a-vis* Mandalay, where "grew up a flourishing community of Buddhists, who found on the summits of the neighbouring hills attractive and commanding spots on which to build their memorials and their monasteries—spots, that is to say, which were far enough removed from the turmoil and distractions of the great city, but sufficiently close to it to attract worshippers from its crowded thoroughfares." Scenery, climate, water-supply, seclusion, and easy accessibility were the determining factors in the selections of the site, which Asoka, moreover, desired to embellish and commemorate as being near the home of his favourite queen, who was the mother of his two children, who did so much to delight his heart in the propagation of Buddhism.

The ruins at Sañchi consist mainly of *stūpas*, pillars, temples, and monasteries, and a Museum is in course of erection for the safe-keeping of specimens of sculpture and other relics of the past. Of the monuments, the greatest interest is attached to the Great *Stūpa*, which consists of an almost hemispherical dome, truncated near the top and surrounded at its base by a lofty terrace, which served in ancient days as a processional path, access to which was provided by a double flight of steps built against it on the southern side. The original *stūpa*, which was probably built by Asoka, was a structure of brick of about half the diameter of the present structure, and was encased in stone and brought to its present dimensions. On the truncated portion near the summit of the *stūpa*, have now been restored a square grated railing, which is surmounted by a circular umbrella standing on a shaft. The umbrella orna-

ment, which symbolises sovereignty, confers dignity on the relic-casket, which reposes within the railing. The crowning glory of the *stūpa*, which has earned its world-wide fame, consists of four elaborate and richly carved gateways, facing the cardinal points, on which the genius of the Indian race has most lavishly spent itself. It will be of extraordinary interest to the Burman Buddhists as well to the Christian missionaries, who accuse them of idolatry, to be told that, in these sculptures of the third and later centuries before the Christian era, Gautama Buddha is *never portrayed in bodily form*, but that his presence is indicated merely by some symbol, such as his foot-prints or the throne on which he sat, or the sacred Bodhi tree associated with this Enlightenment. The image of the Buddha, which was primarily modelled on the figure of Apollo, the Sun-god, was introduced into India by the Greek School of Gandhāra, which is thus responsible for substituting idolatry for a system of faith, which abstains from feelings of reverence and delicacy to depict, in material form, the beautiful personality of the Buddha, or the Eternal Spirit or the ineffable Essence of Brahma.

The reliefs depicted on the pillars and architraves of the Gateways relate to the four great events in the life of the Buddha, namely, his birth at Kapilavastu, his enlightenment at Bodh Gayā, his first sermon or turning the Wheel of the Law at Sarnath near Benares, and his *Parinirvāna* or death at Kusinārā. Sometimes, a historical scene is depicted as the visit of the Emperor Asoka to the *Stūpa* at Rāmagrāma in the Nepāl Tarai, where he failed to secure the relics of the Buddha, on account of the determined opposition of their devoted guardians, the Nāgas; or the War of the Relics, which the Chiefs of seven other clans waged against the Mallas of Kusinārā for the possession of the Buddha's relics. Scenes from the *Jātakas* or birth-stories of the Buddha, the rich repository of Indian folklore, are also represented, the *Jātakas* selected being the stories of the Chaddanta Elephant, who suffered heavily for showing partiality to one of his two wives; of the Alambusā nymph, who, by her blandishments, corrupted the virtue of the simple-minded Rishi Isisīṅga; of King Vessantara, who was matchless in charity, and who gave away his riches, his white elephant, his horses, his children and even his wife; and of Syāma or Suvāṇṇasāma, the only son of a blind hermit and his wife, who was shot with an arrow by the King of Benares, while engaged in hunting, but who was restored to life, and whose parents recovered their sight through the intervention of Indra.

Images of the Buddha did not appear at Sāñchi till the Gupta period, i. e., the 5th century A. D., or over 1,000 years of the *Parinirvāna* of the Buddha, when all recollections of his personal appearance must have been obliterated. They are not in the round, but in alto-relievo, as at the Lemyet-hna Pagoda at Hmawza in the Prome District. The influence of the Gupta Emperors appears to have reached Burma in the early part of the Middle Ages.

Stūpa No. 3 is interesting because in it Sir Alexander Cunningham discovered the relics of Sāriputra and Mahāmogalāna, the two famous disciples of the Buddha. In all, there are 30 *stūpas*.

The pillars are 34 in number. Asoka's edict-pillar, which, when intact, was about 42 feet in height, is, perhaps, the prototype of the others. It consisted of a round and slightly tapering monolithic shaft, with a bell-shaped capital surmounted by an abacus and a crowning ornament of four lions, set back to back, the whole finely finished and polished to a remarkable lustre from top to bottom.

The temples, which are 40 in number, do not require a detailed description, as they remind us of the *Simā* or Ordination Halls of Burma, and the plans of the 47 monasteries recall those of the notable Cave Temples of Pagan.

The most valuable part of the guide-book appears to be "The life of the Buddha briefly sketched with particular reference to the sculptures of Sāñchi," which appears as an Appendix. It is an authoritative and scientific account of the life of the great Master, and will repay perusal, because it is based on the writings of such well-known Oriental Scholars as Kern, Fleet, Foucher and Lassen.

T. S. K.

BURMESE NOVELS*

3.—*Maung Pe Shin and Ma Me Tin* part I, Rangoon Myanma-awba Press, Godwin Road 1266 B. E. by Saya Ba.

The story opens with a dramatic situation that raises great hopes. The hero, son of a wealthy merchant of Mandalay, is seen leaving the Royal City, which only a month ago, has passed under the British rule (1885 A. D.).¹ His appearance is such that he might very well be suspected for a rebel against the new Power or a run-a-way from home that he really is. The circumstances which have brought him into such a tragic situation are well explained: They are nothing more nor less than a misunderstanding that arose between him and his sweetheart, a maiden whom he has secretly fallen in love with but to whom etiquette has forbidden the disclosure of his love. Things were brought to a crisis when a suitor arrived for her and our hero, under the constraint of the existing rules of society found himself unable to interfere. He did the only thing that was practicable. He sent her a letter, which, however, the maiden, although dying to read it, must in delicacy refuse. He at once jumped to the conclusion that she had given him up for another acquainted with the newer civilization introduced by the British. Heroically he determined to leave his home for the distant Isle of Ceylon to seek an education that would equip him for the battle of life under the new conditions. The whole situation thus hangs upon a single thread: the misunderstanding between the hero and the heroine. It seems to us of the present day strange that such a slight misunderstanding should at all have been

* Although an attempt at chronology has been made, we do not guarantee strict order in some cases owing to the fact that the exact dates of publication cannot be ascertained even from the printed Catalogues issued by Government.

possible, or if possible, should have led to such an important situation. The explanation of course lies in the rules of etiquette and social conditions. One is so very much tempted to blame the hero for his want of practical wisdom. Why could he not see the maiden himself, seeing that they had been brought up on terms of the greatest intimacy, and give her a verbal explanation? Why must he have trusted the future course of his fate to a go-between and leave everything to the incapacities of a third person in love affairs? That is the real secret of the whole thing. Burmese etiquette did not countenance (at least our hero understood it to be so) an open meeting between lovers! What possibilities such a course of amours might lead to may very well be imagined.

Once the hero arrives at Rangoon he falls an easy prey to the machinations of swindlers. He is so often swindled that there is no doubt that credulity and indecision are the chief traits of his character. A simple account is given of all his troubles in Rangoon, an account that seems to aim at emotion rather than unity of treatment. His poverty in Rangoon compels him to become a hired boatman. Much the same sort of narration obtains in the accounts of the various journeys our hero takes, until the conclusion of the first part, which promises something of more interest.

The hopes raised by the main situation are therefore not fully realized, the subsequent doings of the hero being in no degree comparable to it in dramatic importance. The story becomes simple in structure and needs but simple handling. So much is this the case that the author, who is a conscious literary artist is constrained to give a poetical paraphrase of the hero's simple letter to the heroine (p. 38).

We do not approve of the publication of a novel in parts. The events of a good novel are so many situations in causal relation to one another. One situation leads to another until the end when something of a status is obtained. To break off suddenly at the first part, as in the present book, leads nowhere. Perhaps this is unavoidable when novels are written less for their own sake than for the personal satisfaction of the authors.

—*Editor.*

4.—*Maung Hmaing*—Part II, by U Maung Gyi, March 1905. This is a continuation of the doings of the hero described in the first part, reviewed in the last number of the Journal. We are now introduced into all the intricacies of a system of courtship by which Maung Hmaing becomes the possessor of eight wives. The odour of polygamy stifles us. Fraud and deception, promises and honied words succeed one another and are strangely effective on the women, victims of his love. The bliss of their honeymoons is quickly followed by worry and flurry, when they have reason to suspect his character. The whole book is one long series of love-making together with its accompaniments. Many acts are done, yet there seems to be no movement at all. The continual round of the same kind of actions wearies the reader and when the moral tone is distinctly low the result is reactionary. The aim of the author is either to

write a practical guide to courtship of the most pernicious sort or to reveal the evils of polygamy as a warning to society.

Most of the remarks on the first part apply equally well to the second Part. An instance of the amorous propensities of Maung Hmaing is afforded by his making love to a young lady over the cremation of two of his wives. And the lack of verisimilitude is illustrated by the reiterated quarrels among his wives in verse.

—*Editor.*

THE COMPETITION FOR BURMESE MARCHING SONGS.

Award.

In September 1917 it was brought to the notice of the Committee of the Burma Research Society that Marching Songs were wanted for the Burman Regiments. The Committee, with the approval of the regimental authorities, arranged a competition and advertised in the leading news papers of the Province that prizes were offered for suitable Burmese Marching Songs.

The terms of the Competition were very simple. The words were to be Burmese and the tune could be English or Burmese; the soldiers themselves were to be the judges. The prizes were to be awarded to the verses found by the soldiers to be most suitable for singing on the march. It was hoped that the result would be announced in the December number of the Burma Research Society's Journal, but the number of entries prevented this. It was found impossible within the time allowed to give a fair trial to all the verses submitted for approval. There has therefore been considerable delay in making the award. This however was unavoidable.

Some may consider the outcome of the competition disappointing since none of the entries has been found entirely suitable. But it is very unlikely that a competition of this kind should anywhere, as a direct result, yield a first class marching song. You will hardly find a new marching song of the first class once in a hundred years; in a decade it is rare to find one that will live ten years. In Burma, more than elsewhere, it was unlikely. Most of the competitors, as many of them explained in covering letters, had never met a soldier on the march, nor ever seen a rifle, except in the illustrated papers. It was improbable that any one would send in a song even roughly suitable; it was quite likely that no one would compete at all.

The response, however, so far as regards the number of entries, has been quite encouraging. Twenty-five competitors submitted thirty-seven sets of verses. Thirteen of these were Burmese songs arranged to English music; in the remaining entries both the words and music Burmese. The writers came from all over the country, from Myitkyina to the Delta. There was a strong entry from Kyauksè where the Burmese Academy of Literature, under the presidency of Ko Chit Maung, fosters the study and practice of Burmese verse. Several entries were received

from the American Baptist Burmese Mission in Bassein, three or four entries from among the Sappers showed that the writers could handle a pen in the interval of handling a pick axe, and had not forgotten how to write while learning how to shoot. Among the other competitors were numbered two pongyis, an ex-Minister of the Burmese Court, two or three school boys, a blacksmith, and a lady. That is the chief immediate outcome of the competition. It has been demonstrated that there is a wide and genuine interest in the revival of a Burman Army and in the practice of writing verse. The rest is a matter of time. It is intended to publish the entries in book form and devote the profits to regimental funds. This publication will show those who tried and failed the kind of thing that was, and still is, wanted, and may encourage others to try their hand.

The 70th Burmans recommended for a prize an entry submitted by Saya Bwa of Toungoo with Burmese music by Mr. P. A. Mariano. The Sappers found that two entries stood out above the rest as suitable for singing on the march; they were not quite the right songs, but they were songs of the right kind. The prizes are awarded in accordance with these recommendations.

The first prize of Rs. 25/- goes to Messrs. P. A. Mariano and Saya Bwa for their song, "Aung ze Kyaung; taung su ban."

The second prize of Rs. 25/- is divided between Havildar Maung Ba Shein of the Sappers for his song to the air of "Marching through Georgia," and Maung Ba Geor of the American Baptist Burmese Mission for his song to the air of "John Brown's Body."

1st Prize

WINNING SONGS.

Words and tune by Saya Bwa.
Set to music by P. A. Mariano.



ဘုန်းတော် ဖျာသလေလေ ဘုန်းတော် ဖျာသလေလေ အောင်ပါစေ အောင်ကြောင်းရယ်နဲ့
အောင်ပါစေ အောင်ကြောင်းရယ်နဲ့ ညောင်ရေလောင်းအောင်စေကြောင်း တောင်း ဆု ပန်
ညောင်ရေလောင်း အောင်စေကြောင်း တောင်း ဆု ပန် ပြိုင်မ စံ ပြိုင်မ စံ
လန်ဒန် ရွှေပြည် နန်း ရယ် ကြွန်းလေ သာ လှ နှို နှို အောင်ဖြေ ချာ
ပြိုင်မ စံ ပြိုင်မ စံ လန်ဒန် ရွှေပြည် နန်း ရယ် ကြွန်းလေ သာ လှ
နှို နှို အောင်ဖြေ ချာ ရွှေဘုန်း ထိန်ဝေ ဖျာ နေ နှို နှို ရှိန်တေ အေ အောင်ကြောင်းလေ
သည် က ဇေယ မ ဇ် လာ ရွှေဘုန်း ထိန်ဝေ ဖျာ နေ နှို နှို ရှိန်တေ အေ
အောင်ကြောင်းလေ သည် က ဇေယ မ ဇ် လာ။

မြန်မာစစ်တက်သီခြင်း။

Air "John Brown's Body."

၁။ ငါတို့မြန်မာစစ်သားများ၊ စစ်ချီတက်လာ၊
ငါတို့မြန်မာစစ်သားများ၊ စစ်ချီတက်လာ၊
ငါတို့မြန်မာစစ်သားများ၊ စစ်ချီတက်လာ၊
ဝမ်းမြောက်ရွှင်လန်းကြလေ။

(ထပ်ဆိုရန်။)

မြန်မာ၊ မြန်မာ၊ စစ်သည်တော်များ၊
မြန်မာ၊ မြန်မာ၊ စစ်သည်တော်များ၊
မြန်မာ၊ မြန်မာ၊ စစ်သည်တော်များ၊
ဝမ်းမြောက် ရွှင်လန်း ကြလေ။

၂။ ငါတို့မြန်မာစစ်သားများ စိတ်လိုက်လျှောက်လျက်၊
 ငါတို့မြန်မာ စစ်သားများ စိတ်လိုက်လျှောက်လျက်။
 ငါတို့မြန်မာ စစ်သားများ စိတ်လိုက်လျှောက်လျက်။
 (ထပ်ဆိုရန်။)

မြန်မာ၊မြန်မာ၊အစရှိ—

၃။ ငါတို့မြန်မာစစ်သားများ စစ်ပြီးသောခါ။
 ငါတို့မြန်မာစစ်သားများ စစ်ပြီးသောခါ။
 ငါတို့မြန်မာစစ်သားများ စစ်ပြီးသောခါ။
 အောင်ပွဲခံရလတံ့။

(ထပ်ဆိုရန်။)

မြန်မာ၊မြန်မာ၊အစရှိ—

2nd Prize
(divided)

Ba Geor,
 c/o. U Aung Baw,
 American Baptist Burmese Mission,
 BASSEIN. (L. B.)

ဆပ်ပါးမိုင်းနားစစ်တက်သီခြင်း။

Air "Marching Through Georgia."

၁။ ပိတိုရိယ၊ဘုရင်မ၏၊ စစ်သည်တော်သားများ၊
 ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်၊အတွက်စစ်မြေပြင်သို့ချီတက်၊သွား။
 လွယ်လင့်တကူ အရှင်၏၊ ရန်သူများနိုင်နင်းဘို့။
 စွမ်းသတ္တိနှင့်မှုဆောင်ရွက်ဖို့။

(ထပ်ဆိုရန်။)

ကြည့်ပါ၊ ရှုပါအောင်၊အလံထူလျက်
 ဆပ်ပါးမိုင်းနား ပိတိုရိယ၊ ရဲမက်၊
 ရန်သူမျိုးငါးပါးနိုင်ပြီး ဘာလင်မြို့ကိုစိုး၊
 မန်းမဟာမြန်မာ စည်တော်တီး၊

၂။ ငါတို့အရှင် ဂျော့ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ် ရေးတော်ပေါ်ခိုက်၊
 မဟာကျေးဇူး ရှင်တွက် ရန်သူများ ဆိုင်ပြိုင်တိုက်ခိုက်၊
 ထိုကြောင့်၊ မြန်မာမျိုးသားအားလုံး စုရုံးကြိုးစားပြီး။
 စွမ်းသတ္တိနှင့်မှုဆောင်ရွက်ဖို့။

၃။ ယင်းကဲ့သို့ ဖြစ်သောကြောင့်၊ မြန်မာယောက်ျားအဆွေတို့။
 ချစ်ခင်မြတ်နိုးသူများ၊ ခွဲခွာပြီးအောင်ဘို့တိုက်ဖို့။
 လေးပျိုတို့ကလည်း၊ အောင်ဆုပန်၊ အောင်ရဒယာဆင်၊
 စွမ်းသတ္တိနှင့်မှုဆောင်ရွက်ဖို့။

2nd Prize
(divided)

Havildar Mg. Ba Shein,
 Q. V. O. Sappers and Miners,
 MANDALAY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of a Meeting of the sub-Committee on 9th July, 1918.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esquire, C. I. E.

J. T. Best, Esqr.

Prof. Maung Tin.

W. G. Fraser, Esqr., *Hon: Secretary.*

1. The minutes of the meeting held on the 20th February 1918 were confirmed.

2. Recorded a letter from the Chief Librarian, Vajiranana National Library, Bangkok, and inspected publications received from him.

3. Considered a letter from Rev. B. M. Jones enquiring at what rates a set of the Journal could be forwarded for the Missionary Research Library, New York, and whether any concession was given to Libraries on current issues of the Journal.

Resolved that as a special case and subject to copies being available, a set of the Journal be offered at half price, and that no concession be given on current issues of the Journal.

4. Read and recorded a letter from Mr. J. Stuart conveying his thanks to the Society for his election as a Corresponding Member.

5. Elected Maung Po Sa, Assistant Inspector of Schools, an ordinary member, proposed by the Honorary Secretary, and seconded by the Honorary Editor.

6. Resolved that a report on the results of the Marching Songs Competition drawn up by Mr. Furnivall be now communicated to the Rangoon Press, and that the results along with the winning songs be published in the August issue of the Society's Journal.

7. Considered Mr. Furnivall's proposal that a selection to be made by him from entries and covering letters in the Marching Songs Competition should be published by the Society in book form.

Resolved that the proposal be provisionally approved. The Honorary Secretary was empowered to request the permission of competitors to print their covering letters or such part of them as was found desirable in the proposed book: and directed to make special enquiry regarding the possibility of printing the music of the songs. Mr. Furnivall's selection should be submitted on completion to the Sub-Committee before further steps should be taken.

8. Resolved that in accordance with Resolution of the meeting of the committee on 23rd January 1918 certain members should be regarded as no longer members of the Society.

9. Considered the date of the next general meeting of the Society.

Resolved that a meeting should be held towards the end of August on a date to be determined later

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

HONORARY SECRETARYSHIP AND TREASURERSHIP.

The duties of the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer were made over, as a temporary measure, to Prof. Maung Tin on the forenoon of 13th August 1918 by Mr. W. G. Fraser, who left on military duty to India.

—*Editor.*

MEMBERSHIP.

Rev. H. I. Marshall, A. B. Mission, Toungoo; Professors R. N. Crawford, M. A.; C. E. Van Horn, M. A.; C. H. Whitnah, M. Sc., Baptist College, Rangoon; and Maung Ba Saing, Bar-at-law, were duly elected members on the 16th August. 1918.

Mr. E. A. Woods, of Messrs. Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, Limited was duly elected a member on the 20th August 1918.

MAUNG TIN,
Honorary Secretary.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

RECEIVED SICNE APRIL 1918, Vol. VIII, Part I.

1. **The Indian Antiquary**, September to December 1917, and January to March 1918.
2. **Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle**, for 1916-17.
3. **The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland**, Vol. XLVII, 1917—July to December.
4. **Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle**, for the year ending 31st March 1917.
5. **A Guide to Sanchi**, by Sir John Marshall.
6. **Journal of the East India Association**, Vol. IX, Nos. 2 and 3, April and July 1918.
7. **Report of the Committee**, appointed to ascertain and advise how the Imperial Idea may be inculcated and fostered in schools and colleges in Burma. (1917.)
8. **Syamupadasampada**, (The adoption of the Siamese order of priesthood in Ceylon by the Rev. Siddhartha Buddharakhita Thero of Pusparama Monastery in Kandy (Ceylon) A. C. 1776.
9. **The Keddah Annals—translated from the Malay**, by Lieut.-Col. James Low.
10. **An Account of King Kirti Sri's Embassy to Siam in 1672 Saka (1750 A. D.)**—translated from the Sinhales, by E. P. Pieris.
11. **Turpin's History of Siam—translated from the French**, by C. O. Cartwright.
12. **The Vajiranana National Library.**
13. **The White Elephant.**
14. **The Crawford Papers (A Collection of Official Records relating to the Mission of Dr. John Crawford sent to Siam**, by the Government of India in the year 1821.
15. **Dutch Papers**, (Extracts from *The Dagh Register*.
16. **Records of the Relations between Siam and foreign Countries in the 17th Century**, 3 vols.
17. **The Burney Papers**, 15 parts.
18. **The Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle**, for the year ending 31st March 1917.
19. **Journal Asiatique recueil de Memoires et de notices relatifs aux études orientales publiée par la société asiatique**, Tom X Nos. 1 and 2.
20. **Sawya Watthu**, by "Kywetsut."
21. **A Guide to Taxila**, by Sir John Marshall, 1918.
22. **Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India**, 1915-16.
23. **The Astronomical Observatories of Jai Singh**, by G. R. Kaye (1918.)

THE GREATER TEMPLES OF PAGĀN.*

I

"The Burmese", says Fergusson¹ "would seem to be the only people who having discovered the constructional value of the arch proper, not only never employed it as a decorative feature, but seem to be ashamed of its invention, and endeavoured to hide or mask it". The answer to all such criticism is that the original architect had an idea far more vital to enforce than the beauty of well radiated voussoirs. No great Pagan temple is important artistically on account of its ornament; the latter is only important on account of the temple, and the idea or emotion it conveys. All such ornament is structural in the true sense.

Our western point of view is right in this—that we value a building in proportion as it is adapted to the end in view. But the dignity of art, however perfect, varies according to the dignity of that end. To build a church to last for centuries and protect large congregations from sun and rain, is indeed something; but if this is the mere or main object of the architect, let us not call it religious art, nor deny that there are higher and less material ends. Otherwise our judgement, once satisfied with the soundness of the building, is starved of joy, or must be content with barren interest in meaningless elaboration of detail. But true art appeals at once to the emotions, and the mind dwelling next on the details feels their meaning in relation to the whole. The joy suggests the explanation, and the explanation justifies the joy.

How does this apply to the temples of Pagan? At first sight we cannot help leaping to their main idea—their straining upwards—and we must feel, according to our capacity, the emotions of aspiration and reverence. Without, we chiefly feel elevated; within, humbled; but both emotions are present and correlative, and both are essentially religious.

Entering the porches at midday we cross the vestibule and the lines of corridors, outer and inner, and penetrate the darkness of the image-chamber, passing through all the gradations from tropic sunlight to deep gloom. Yet the effect is not oppressive. The pointed arches, the groined ceiling of the chambers, the half vaults of the corridors shouldering up, one above the other, towards the mighty attitude of the central mass—nothing impends; everything rises. The very stairways straiten upwards as a telescope. The window-apertures where the monks sat to read or meditate, are rarely level at the sill. Steps lead up to them from within and down beyond them into space. In fact the one grand descending line in the whole structure is the right

* Read at the ordinary meeting held on 29th August 1918. We are indebted to the Burma Archaeological Department for the plates and to Maung Ba Nyan, working under the direction of Mr. K. M. Ward, for the sketches. The references in footnotes to the plates have been added by Mr. Ward.—*Editor*.

¹ I refer to the 1910 Edition of Fergusson's History. But the chapter on Further India has been "partly re-written" by Mr. R. Phené Spiers.

arm of the colossal Buddha, seated against the central pile and touching earth—the attitude which has made by far the deepest appeal to the Burman's imagination. The symbolism of all this is noble, and certainly intended. The prime purpose of the temple is to enshrine the image of the Master who has achieved enlightenment. He alone can stoop while the many rise; and his touching of earth establishes a living contact between aspiration and attainment.

The bareness of the interiors which has disappointed several travellers, approves itself on reflection. The architect would have nothing to detract from the complete enforcement of his idea. Diaper paintings in soft earthen colours might relieve the monotony of the vaults. Pointed niches with small stone images or reliefs might be framed within the walls, in perfect harmony with the idea of the whole. Altar-rails where candles might be lighted and flowers laid, a stand for offerings, and occasionally arching doors—"noble frames of timber with lattice-work panels" as Yule calls them—might serve a useful purpose. If further detail is allowed, it usually takes the form of rude yet tender illustrations of the Jātakas, or life-stories of the Buddha, useful to remind the illiterate of the wonders of their religion. These will appear in small green-glazed reliefs, done in terracotta or sandstone, and set in panels along the basement and terraces of the exterior, where their colour and arrangement serve also a structural purpose which I will speak of later. They are also found occasionally within the corridors, unglazed, since their colour there would be obtrusive and glaze is not needed to protect them from the weather. There are cases too where they appear in fresco on the interior walls; but these are nearly always the later daubs of piety misplaced.

But if the bare interiors arouse a sense of humility alien to the west, the aspiration so potently expressed in the exteriors does not fail of its appeal. Symonds' description of Northern Gothic architecture is more truly applicable to Pagan:—"Horizontal lines are as far as possible annihilated. The whole force employed in the construction has an upward tendency, and the spire is the completion of the edifice; for to the spire its countless soaring lines—lines not of stationary strength, but of ascendant growth—converge."

Plaster²—apart from its preserving quality—serves the negative purpose of destroying the horizontal effect of bare brick faces. The mouldings of plinth and cornice, with ovolo, astragal, and ogee curves and lotus foliation, make dead monotonous masses heave and writhe and climb and blossom.³ All salient quoins are rounded upwards to a point, and the horizontal bands of the recesses are broken at intervals by panels in which are set the green enamelled plaques referred to above; this annuls all sense of weight, and when we find the same de-

² All the mouldings are executed in plaster, which is not the coarse stuff of the present day, but a material as strong and lasting as Portland cement and finer in colour and composition. See Yule's account of the mouldings, and the "instinctive art and suggestive skill" shown in the carving.

³ See mouldings Plate, I.

vice repeated on succeeding storeys, and again on terrace after terrace, the eye leaps up from point to point of cool and brilliant colour. A series of pilasters all round the tiers run up from plinth to cornice,⁴ their shafts adorned with ordinary and inverted V-shaped mouldings with rosettes or diamonds between, and where they bend round the corners, in particular, give an upward tendency to the mass. Their tori are connected below with a dado of small inverted V's, and above, the cushioned capitals are caught in bands of pearl and looped with chaplets issuing from the jaws of dragons. Above the cornice is a parapet slit into peaceful crenellations which, to quote Yule, are "but the settings of embossed and glazed and richly coloured tiles, which must have formed a brilliant coronet to each successive terrace of the temple". Yet all these details are simple in effect. They are taken in at a glance without injury to the religious emotion; and each is the direct and necessary expression of the artist's aspiration.

Soaring lines are of course of no effect unless they spring from the horizontal; to give the sense of *lift*, there must be a weight to be lifted. So the architect had to keep a nicely varying proportion between his vertical and horizontal lines, giving a prominence in the lower stages to the latter, which gradually lose, as the former gain, in importance towards the top. Here lies the value of the terraces, of which there are usually three receding above each of the two main tiers. The lower three, in spite of their crenellations, are in effect distinctly rigid and horizontal; but the upper ones are far shorter in length, and besides the extra *lift* due to the closer grouping of the corner-stupas, the centre of the four faces of each terrace is broken by a pointed archway, beneath which the final flights climb steeply up the outside to the spire⁵. Thus the rate of upward motion seems to steadily accelerate.

But the chief means by which the soaring effect is obtained, are three. First, by the regular use of the pointed arch within and without. Secondly, the flame-pediments above and around all the door-ways and windows, which curl upon the contour of the arch below, narrow and flatten against the wall as they rise, and project in tongues of masonry above, exactly like a wind-swept fire.⁶ And finally the series of *stupas*, which begin from the lowest roof of the portico, extend to the corners of the terraces and platforms, crowning each in turn in narrowing succession, and build up a pyramid of flame, as it were, around the spire.

The perfect beauty and simplicity of the arches, only relieved in the major door-ways by receding orders of the same design, are evidence of the architect's self-control. In immediate counterpoise to this is the elaboration of the pediment surrounding them, which so overpowers every other detail in the temple, as to leave no doubt that here, if anywhere, the artist's meaning has been clearly told. Each face of

⁴ See basement of Ananda Plate V, also the shaded squares along the terraces above the portal of the Gawdawpalin, indicating spaces formerly occupied by plaques (Plate IV).

⁵ See Plate I, fig. 3.

⁶ See Plates II, III, IV.

each of the two main tiers, and also of the porches, will have one giant pediment of this kind. It is supported on tall pilasters, a similar one within it at a lower level, while on each side of it a half pediment of the same design also springing from pilasters, leans up to it and builds up a very conflagration. The many windows, ranged in double tiers along the lower mass and single line along the upper, are each dressed with the same pattern on smaller scale. At the apex of the pediments the tongues usually break free altogether from the wall-faces, and in the porches, at least, tower far upwards into space. As if this were not enough, Yule finds on the Tilominlo that "the flamboyant rays and spires of the pediments even up to the highest remaining terraces had their tips composed of pointed glazed white tiles which must once have given an extraordinary lustre and sparkling effect to the elevation."

I cannot imagine a means more exquisitely conceived to solve the chief problem of the Pagan architect—namely, to combine reach of aspiration with majesty of mass. Within, majesty is achieved mainly in the central pillar, which (in many of the temples) climbs uninterrupted, like some gigantic obelisk, from base to summit. Without, where majesty is centred in the superposition of square masses, the original architect had a well-nigh insoluble problem to face, unless his expression of aspiration was to be abandoned. One might almost picture him in despair one day, when perhaps a neighbouring monastery or cave-temple, built in stone with timber doorways and teak lintels, happened to catch fire; and he, going out to see the sight, noted the flames pouring out of the windows and licking up the walls, and the wooden *mandapas* in front of the porches surging upwards in a great pyramid of blazing spires, the whole building lifting itself into the air in one ecstasy of passion. Nature alone, the great Art-Master, seems capable of teaching a means so simple and tremendous.

The small stupas that uplift each of the corners, numbering in all about thirty around one of the major temples, make harmony with the flame-idea of the pediments. Those on the projecting porticoes avert monotony by lending a curve of ascent to the series, and impart a sweeping energy to the building which might otherwise be too monumental. Though usually the same in shape on any one temple, those on each temple will differ from those on any other. Nor are these similarities and differences unimportant, for usually their forms repeat in little the idea of the whole. Having studied the complete majesty of the That-byin-nyu, one may pause over a stupa on its platform, and feel the same gray beauty of spire, the same dark grandeur of square pilastered base, in one as in the other.

The form of the pagoda-spire or *sikhara*, is said to be taken from Hindu architecture, but one has only to compare those of the Gawdaw-palin, That-byin-nyu, and Ananda, to see that the treatment was anything but conventional, but in each case was adapted at once to the general idea of aspiration and to the individual genius of each temple. Square at the base, it almost fills the platform of the highest terrace.

After a succession of mouldings boldly recessed and strengthened by projecting buttresses, four great knobs or cusps guard the corners from which the temple takes its final leap. The main corner lines of the spire now take a vertical curvature inwards, and near the corners other lines run parallel up the face. Between these vertical lines the faces are deeply marked with a series of short horizontal grooves which even pierce the corners, the intervening quoins being curved upwards to an apex, so as to carry, in spite of the jags, the upward line of the pyramid. The central part of each face has thus a flat lancet shape, curving inwards to the spire; it is usually left bare except for plaster, but is sometimes pierced with three or four niches, one above the other, containing seated images. Before the quoins of the *sikhara* come to a point, four cusps interrupt the series, and leaning in, exactly like the claws that hold a jewel, grasp the final pinnacle or ringed pagoda-form, terminating in the small tiara of a gilded iron *htee*.

The architectural importance of the *sikhara* seems to lie in its beautiful transition from the square to the round, the former being the dominant shape of the lower masses of the building, the latter being the necessary form of the topmost terminal pagoda. The climbing arc of its curvature bears a relation to the looping curves suggested by the line of pinnacles at the corners of the terraces. Nor are the grooves, I think, without meaning. It seems as though the soul, arrived thus high in native stature, must now climb with difficulty, jag by jag, ere it reaches the freedom of enlightenment.

2

The above description is not of any one temple, but aims at giving an idea of their general character. I realize the dangers of this method. Even those who know Oriental architecture best, are too fond of speaking of it in terms of styles rather than buildings—a practice not to be commended in dealing with works of art. The Pagan temples are not built on geometric pattern or conic sections, but bear every stamp of original free-hand design. The architects (the dates prove there were many) had a sort of half-Indian alphabet of forms in common, but each man expressed by different combinations very different ideas. The festoons and pendants which lighten the Gawdawpalin, give weight and mass to the Nanpaya.⁷ In fact the first impression of similarity vanishes on study.

The long *mandapa* porches, the spread of gables and door-ways, the depression of the upper storey, the ogee roofs and slender height of the Ananda, lend it a draped and static grace, a somewhat feminine intensity. In spite of its elaborate external ornament, its grandeur is hardly felt till one enters the corridors, and raising one's eyes beyond the mighty doors sees a colossal image standing in radiant gentleness within each face of the central obelisk. Then one realizes that the sacrifice

⁷ The same comparison can be drawn between the Tilominlo and the Kyaukku Onhmin (Plate I, figs. 1 and 2).

of the middle storey was necessary, and that the Pagan architect could express aspiration almost as potently within his temples as without.

The That-byin-nyu is utterly different. Here a Miltonic architect concentrated all his passion with an awful self-control. All meaner attractions are foregone. There is no facile flight of aspiration, but the whole intensity of the temple in the square spire. Porches are rejected, or admitted only to give energy to the height. On the ground-floor there is no image-chamber facing east; no sooner has one entered than one must climb. The basement is unusually massive and horizontal, with a single corridor, as if to show by contrast the energy that lifts it. The next storey, or entresol, has a double corridor but no image. Once more we must ascend, this time a narrower stairway, and emerge on the level of a terrace from the centre of which a broad exterior flight of steps, significantly ramped, leads between converging lines of stupas towards the central shrine. The height and, above all, the flatness of this upper block, its door-pediments strained against the wall, indicate the tenseness of emotion, bursting and repressed. The stupas above and below rise in grand detachment, their pinnacles forming a line of strength rather than beauty. No temple has suffered more in detail from restorers. But even so it dominates all others in a classic grandeur, a majesty of line, and a tragic beauty worthy of Michel Angelo.

Time has lent a grimness of colour and a mountain mass to the Damayangyi which were not originally intended. Yet the gloom and depth of the long narrow vaults, and the grotesque elaboration of the mouldings that remain, argue a weird and haunted imagination in the architect. Similar in plan to the Ananda, it has far more grandeur. For though the corner-pinnacles seem to rise in steady gradation, interrupted by no great donjon as in the That-byin-nyu, the upper storey is given prominence by the projection of its gables, which repeat the gigantic height of the pilasters and pediments of the doors below. This gives a continence and meaning to the extended porches which is not in the Ananda. But no two aspiring buildings could be less alike in their emotion. The calmness of the Ananda has scarcely anything in common with the terrors of the Damayangyi, where we seem to meet the yearning of despair and penetrate the caverns of a conscience. One might almost think that Narathu himself designed it.

The Gawdawpalin, though its exterior plan is almost a replica of the That-byin-nyu, has a very different emotional effect. It is, in fact, the difference between classical and romantic. There is a demonstrable objective completeness in the That-byin-nyu, a self-control at once checking and emphasising the passion, which almost fixes ecstasy in an attitude. The appeal of the Gawdawpalin is less noble but more intimate; aspiration is suggested rather than defined. The basement is much smaller and more compact; the upper mass, in spite of the size of its door-pediments, is weakened in height and importance; the flights are generally steeper and narrower; the spire far more elongated. This

results in a closer grouping of the corner-stupas in four continuous curves of steep ascent from the basement to the spire; and herein chiefly lies the beauty of this temple. In the days when its colour and ornament were not defaced, and the delicacy of its mouldings stood in fair relief, it must have been second to none—not even the Tilominlo—in splendour of effect. Yet this was not gained without a loss in dignity and strength. There is a slenderness in the pinnacles, an over-emphasis in the lines of aspiration (e. g. in the double ramps leading to the upper tier), and a general display of energy excessive in proportion to the mass lifted. The vertical lines seem capable of extension without injury to the design. Yet no temple has door-pediments finer in form than this; the peculiar arch-dressings of the door-ways, without giving up the flame-design, set it off with tapering horizontal tiers well calculated to add weight to the basement; and if the Gawdawpalin lacks what Yule calls “the stupendous architectural majesty of the Thatbyin-nyu”, it bears the impress of a great emotion.

The other major temples have suffered too much to enable one to speak of their art with the same assurance, and I have said enough, I hope, to show that though all are dominated by the same idea of aspiration, each has marked peculiarities of form, intention, and effect.

3

No criticism of these temples should ignore their setting. In reference to this, however, I have been happily anticipated. Mr. Hugh Fisher has noted effects of colour, Mr. Scott O'Connor those of light, and the pictures of Professor Martin Ward⁸ the significant forms in which these temples group themselves against cloud or mist on the sandy plateau, amid cactus and millet and thistle and the ancient trees, tamarind and white acacia; with the bald yellow scarps of Tangyi-daung, or the “crinkled silk” of the Tabayin hills and the lip of Popa in the distance. Visitors of Nyaung-u will always be grateful to Mr. Scott O'Connor for his pages on the Chaukpala ravine and the plateau beyond. But his impressions are not always, I think, so just. He (as well as other writers) has contrasted the oldtime splendour of Pagan with the “squalid mat-huts” of to-day. This, I fear, is sentiment misplaced. The huts are not squalid. In olden times no less than now, huts and temples must have together framed the soul of the city. To those who cannot imagine a great city given up to the spiritual more than the material, one can say—Read the numberless inscriptions of the period, richly human and intensely devout. Contemplate the 100 square miles of Pagan, all dedicated to religion, with scarcely a vacant site even now, within the walls or without, for a king's palace of any size or splendour, not to speak of the vast population of the city's prime. Notice the careful beauty of each separate brick, even when taken from

⁸ I am particularly grateful to Professor Ward for numerous suggestions helping me to appreciate these temples. No one, I think, has a firmer grasp of their significance than he.

the depths of a great stupa, and contrast with it the rubble of our Norman pillars. And reflect that each temple was built not in centuries, but months. Weigh the significance of this sentence in Yule's account of one of the later and less frequented temples, remembering how short was the period when Pagan was inhabited: "The plaster on the walls of a staircase leading to the upper terraces, at the height of a man's shoulder, was rubbed and polished, as if by the passage of multitudes during ages of occupancy". Read Forchhammer about the literary activities of the Kyaukku Onhmin. And turn finally to the native chronicles, and making allowance for mediæval fads of thought and the flowery style of later court-historians, question whether these campaigns for books and relics can altogether be dismissed with a smile. And if the crimes of Narathu and the coarseness of Tayok-pye-min obtrude themselves, balance with them the character of Alaung-sithu, who wrote prayers like St. Augustine and dealt with kingdoms like St. Louis. Add to all these our natural pre-conception of the conditions necessary to the production of great religious art; and one can scarcely, I think, resist the conclusion that the desire to escape *Samsara* was genuine and widespread, and was reflected in the poorness of their huts no less than in the grandeur of their temples. The present condition of Burmans, backward in all but the essentials of civilisation, yet so advanced in those, argues to the same effect.

THE GOLDEN CHERSONESE.

1.

Since Himawunta crimped thy hills
And rivers in their grooves
inlaid,
As some niello-worker fills
With filagree his hammered
blade,

2.

And wreathes in foliation deep
Scarce visible his figured part,
So histories in thy jungle sleep
Where wake the wonders of thine
art.

3.

Who built the kilns of Hmawza?
Who
Pointed the ardours of the gray
Flame-pyramid of Tha-byin-nyu?
God knows not such an art in
clay.

4.

The lotus-towers of Angkor rise
In swamp and forest; and Pagān
Buried in burning sand defies
The scattered dust of Kubla
Khan.

5.

Though Alaung-sithu's Cave is
decked
With prayer more sweet than
lotus-scroll,
Though Damayan's great glooms
reflect
The terrors of Narathu's soul,

6.

Nameless the architect who gave
Each terrace tongues of rapt
desire,
Who made each portal's architrave
Lick up the walls like flattened
fire,

7.

Who narrowed to a point of light
 The stooping vault, the steepen-
 ing stair,
 And heaved in epicyclic night
 The silent cloisters tall and bare.

8.

There sits alone the Buddha, Calm
 He bends o'er earth his forehead
 wide;
 His rounded knees are spread; his
 arm
 Falls forward as a plunging tide;

9.

His brooding eyelids dome; his lips
 A solemn distant smile expand;
 The robe across his bosom slips
 Toward the levels of his hand.

10.

He touches earth. Dynamic
 Thought
 Has Māra's armies put to flight,
 Unravelling fate through fate, yet
 wrought
 No wrinkle on his visage white.

11.

This face a thousand thousand
 spires
 Called up along the plain and
 still
 With leaf of flaming gold it fires
 The crest of every tangled hill.

12.

From Chaukpala's embowered ab-
 yss
 To Lawkananda's open strand,
 Where Myinkaba's old channels
 kiss
 And coil their tamarinds in sand,

13.

As far as Pōpa's stormy lip
 Where frowns the Mahagiri
 witch
 To see Sarabha's gateway strip
 Her potency to a painted niche,

14

Close-huddled folk and kings who
 dared
 In myriad temples, mile on mile,
 To soar beyond Samsara, spared
 No palace room, no civil pile;

15.

No pomp of avenues or towers
 Like Yasovarman's moated seat
 In Angkor, where the jungle flow-
 ers
 Entangle Mahesvara's feet.

16.

To Tilominlo's coloured heights
 At dawn the cactus-shadows
 win;
 Eve o'er the tarnished river lights
 The candles of Gawdawpalin;

17.

By night, beyond the acacia boughs
 Warped upward as an out-
 stretched hand,
 The porches of Ananda drowse
 In scrolls of silver moonlight
 spanned.

18.

Within, the Cosmic Cycles wait
 Review by four colossal Powers,
 While pigmy people bowed with
 fate
 File on and kneel and lay their
 flowers.

19.

What men are we! Our infidel
 And tender-hornèd souls rely
 On casing churches squat—the
 shell
 We shrink into awhile to die.

20.

Impersonal, unseen, the fire
Of life, whose tinder all things
are,
Mid smoking jungle lifts its spire,
Where mind and matter writhe
and jar.

21.

Yet feel we, under death and birth,
In masonry of souls proceed
Man's architecture of his earth,
Built not on luxury but need.

G. H. LUCE.

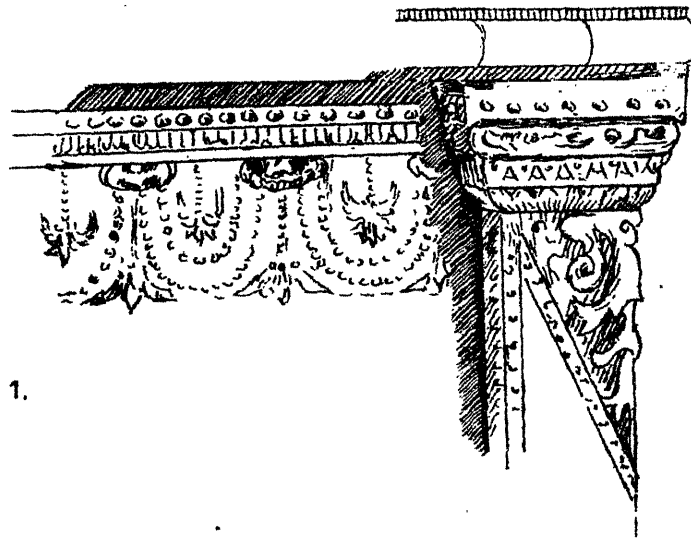


Fig: 1.

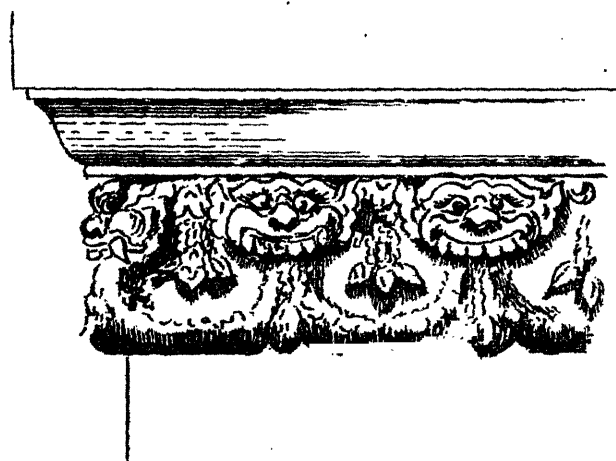


Fig: 2.

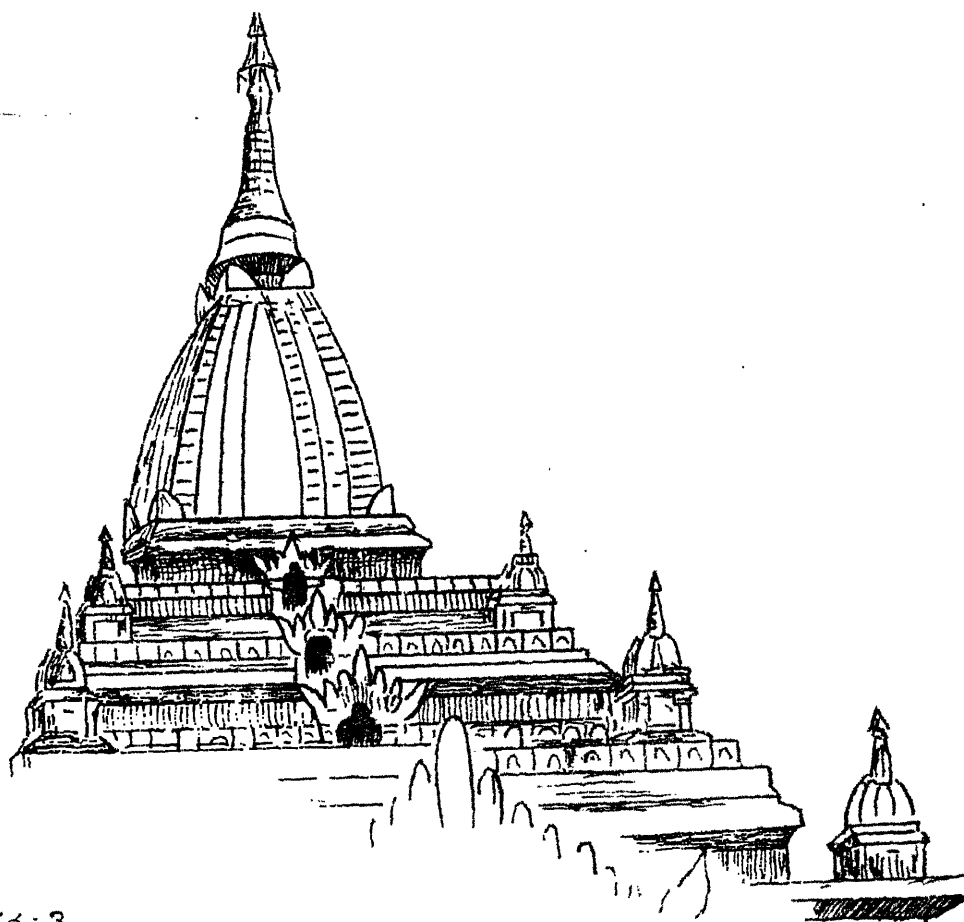
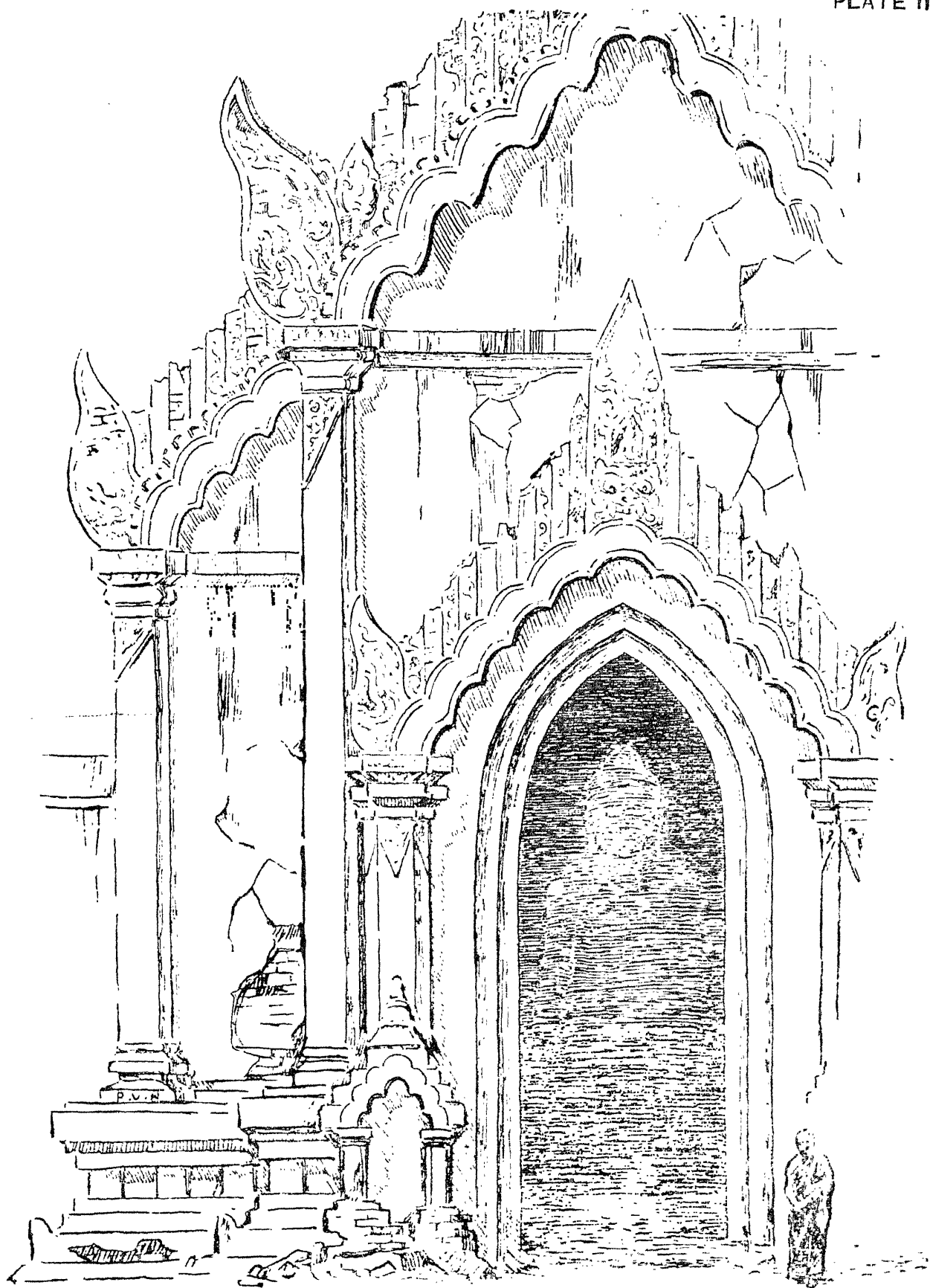
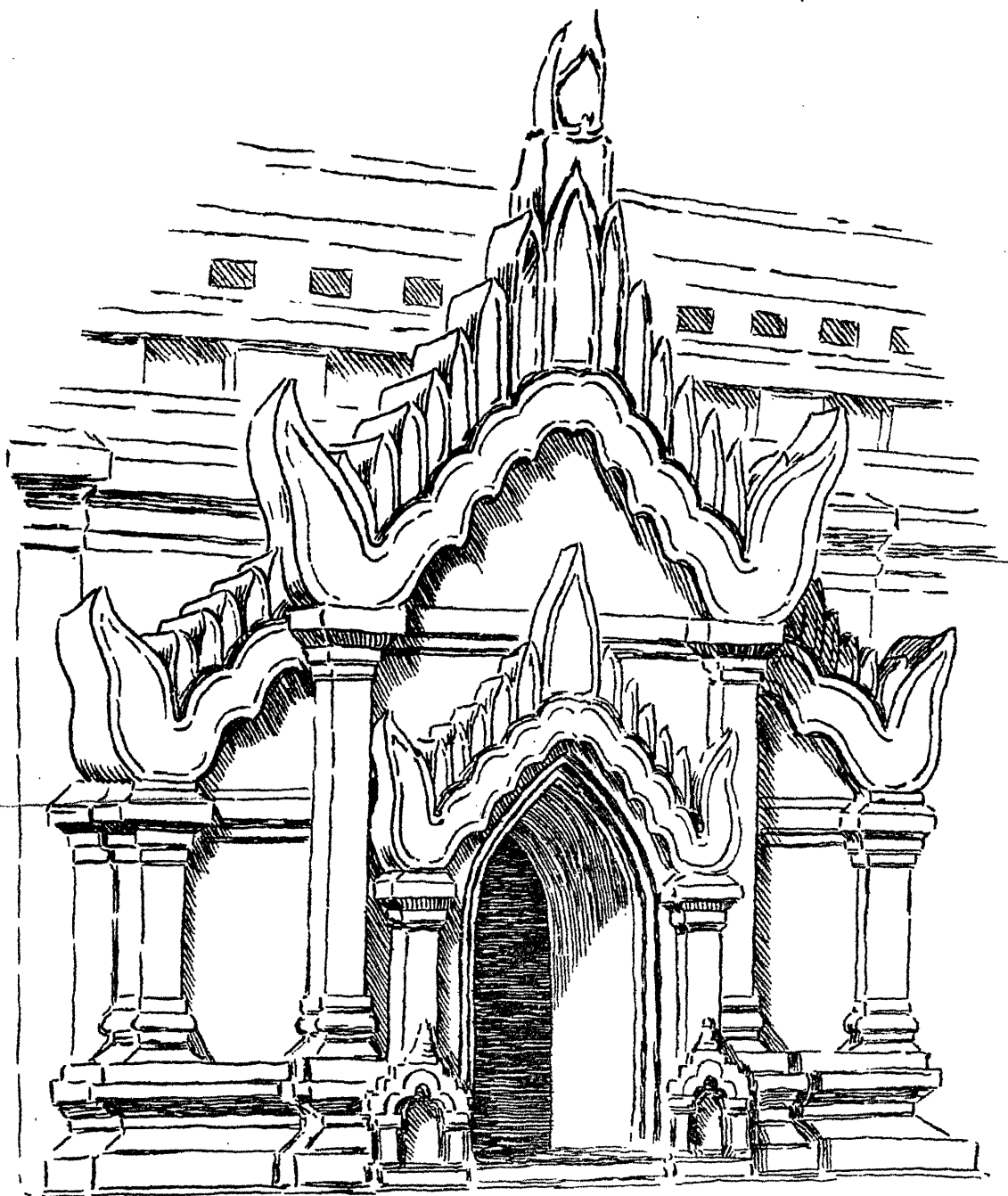


Fig: 3.

- Plate I. Fig. 1. Festoon Mouldings and cornice on Tilominlo.
 Fig. 2. Festoon Mouldings on Kyaukku Onhmin.
 Fig. 3. Sikhara and corner stupas of Gawdawpalin.

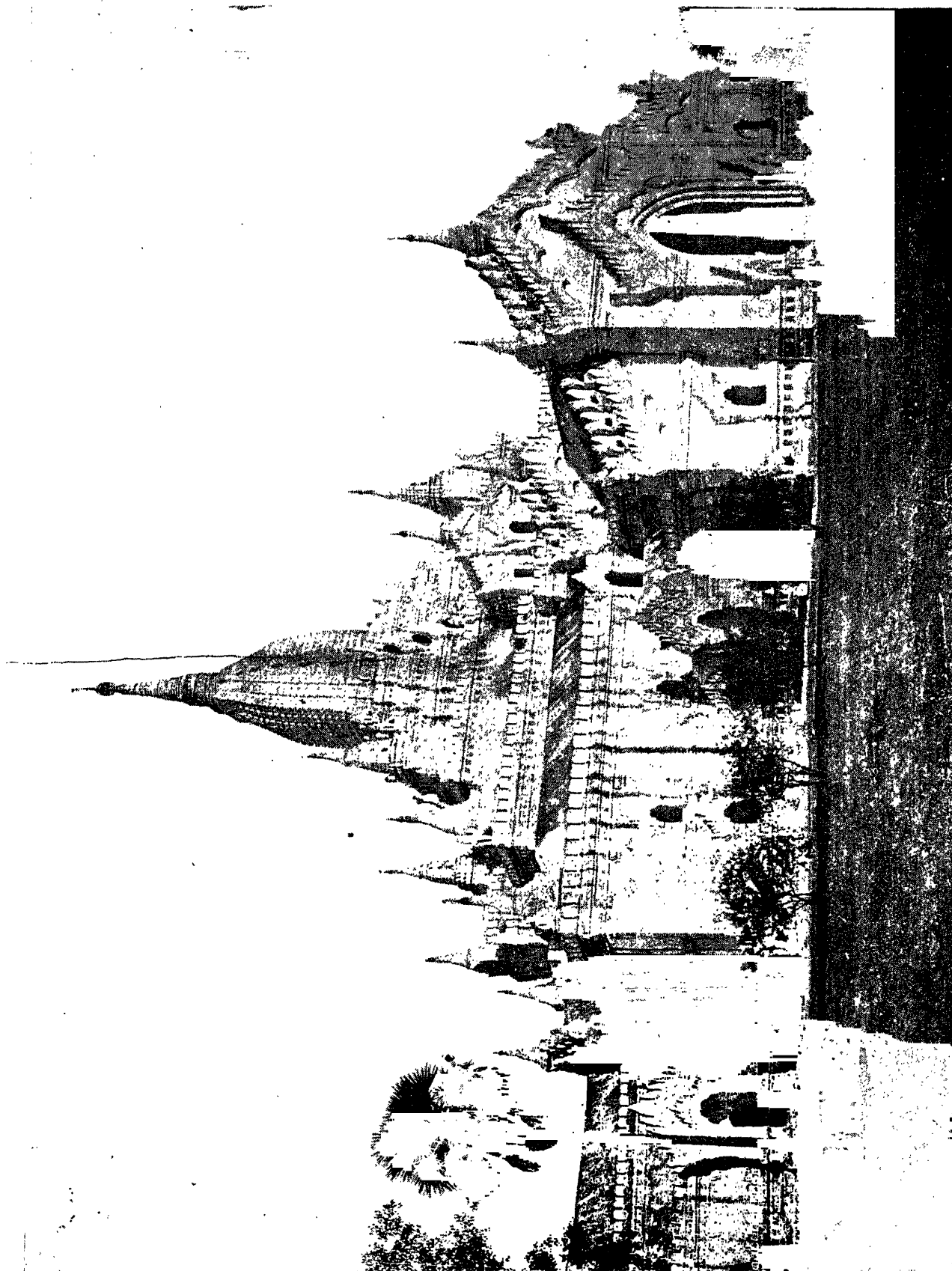


PORTAL OF THE DAMAYANGYI

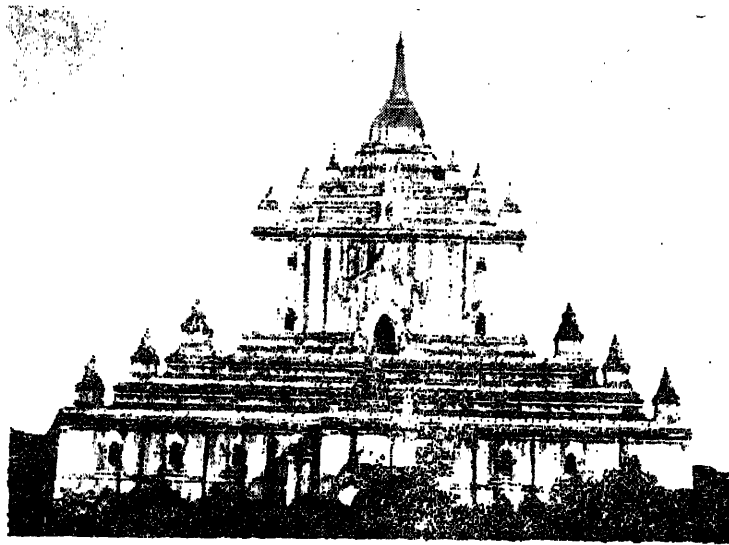


PORTAL OF THE GAWDAWPALIN.

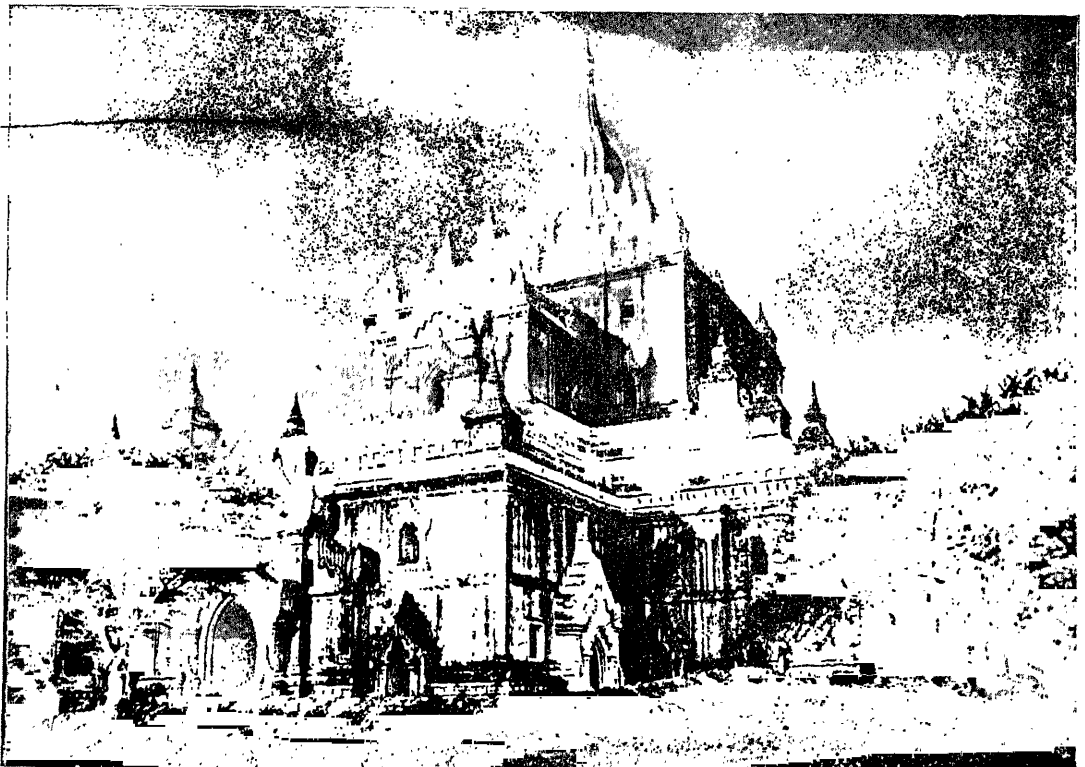
Comparing this with Plates II, III one sees that it is the smallest, the most pointed and the most flamboyant. The corner 'flames' fly out in a wide sweep which would not have been suitable for the classic dignity of the That-byinnyu—K. M. W.



ANANDA

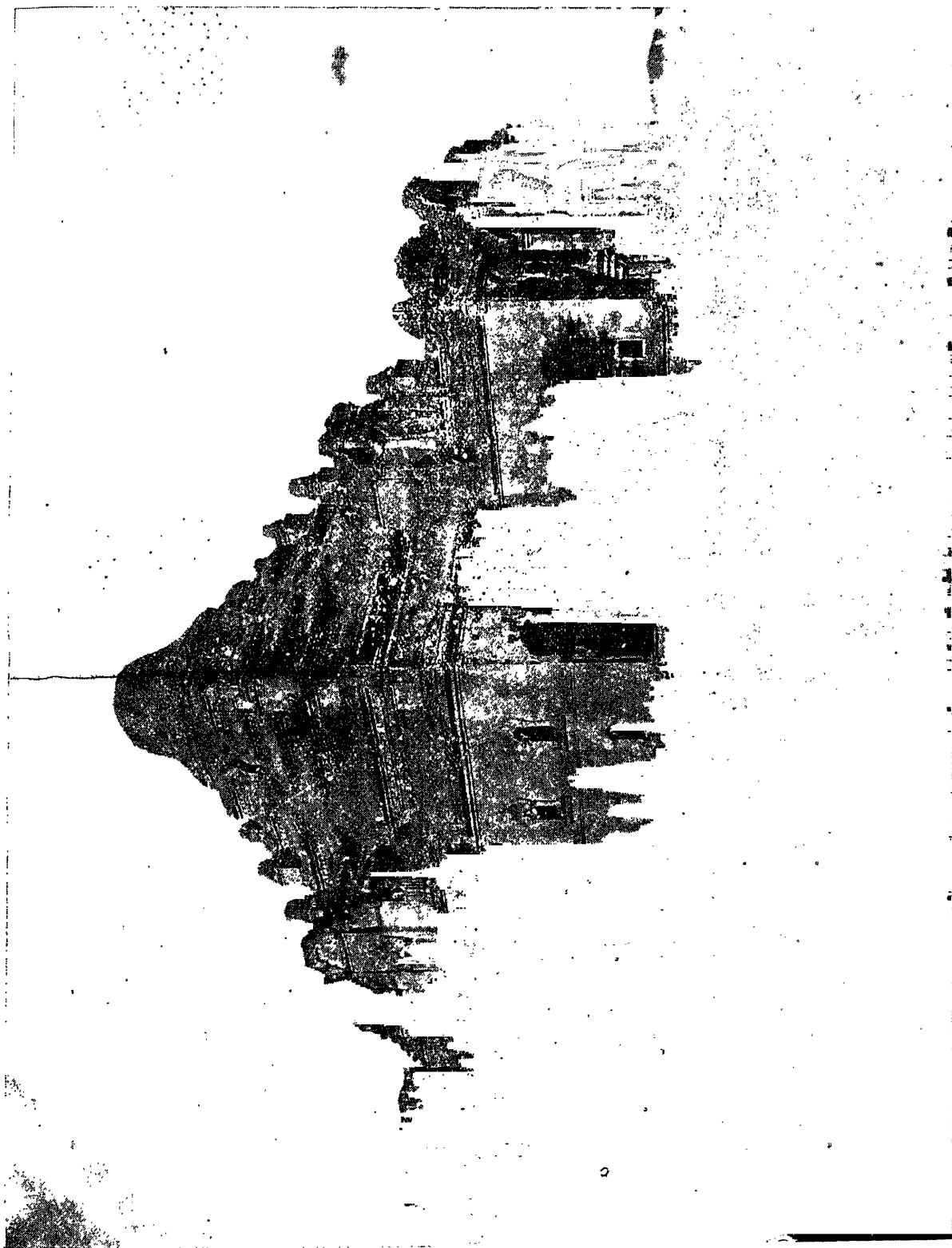


West Face.



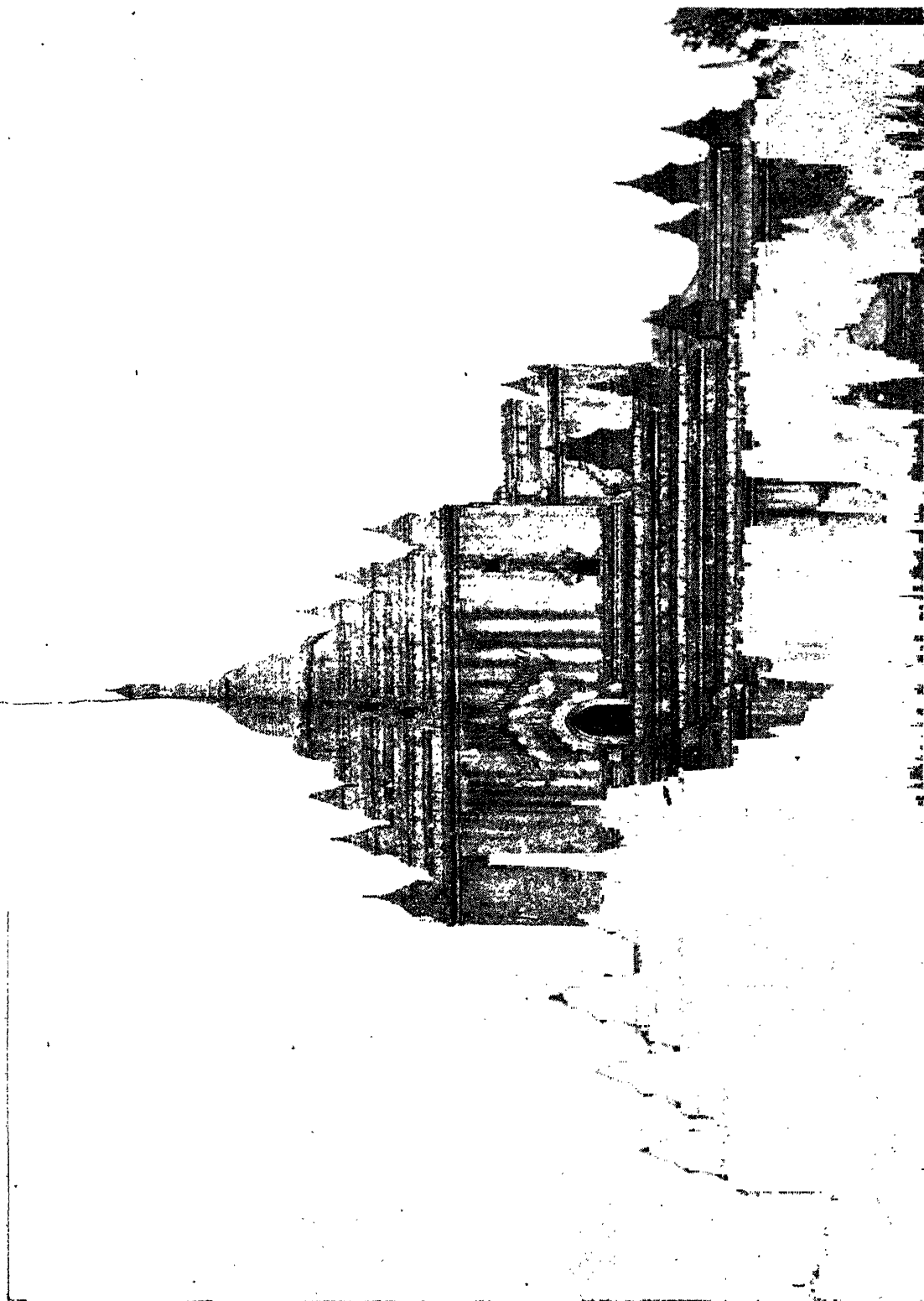
East Front.

THAT-BYIN-NYU





GAWDAPALIN



THAT BYIN-NYU
South View.

SUNLIGHT AND SOAP.*

You will all, I suppose, remember the little incident of Parelles and the drum. Now I must admit that at the present moment I can sympathise with Parelles. I knew just exactly how he felt when the drum had to be produced. But I can urge extenuating circumstances for having undertaken to give this lecture. It has I believe for some time been generally felt that this annual exhibition of arts and crafts which is the occasion of our meeting was incomplete as long as the art and craft of literature remained unrepresented, that some annual stock-taking of literary progress was desirable. And many I think have also felt that there should be some connection between this exhibition and our Society for the study and encouragement of literature, art and science. In attempting to comply with these demands we are making a new departure and in mitigation of my rashness I can plead that some one had to take the first step. That may excuse but cannot justify me; my only justification can be that I shall interest you in what I am going to say. I have at least some confidence that you are interested in what I want to talk about, you have shown that by your presence here. The subject of my lecture is suggested, almost prescribed, by the occasion of our meeting. This is the first meeting of our Society at which attendance has been thrown open to the public, and it is the first time that we have held a meeting in connection with this exhibition. Obviously this is a convenient opportunity for considering what we mean by it all, what is the use, the practical benefit of exhibitions such as this, and of a Society such as ours. *Can* we contribute in any way to the progress of Burmese arts and crafts, can we encourage literature, art and science; within what limits and by what methods and, most of all, is the game worth the candle; are we just wasting our time, or, at best, indulging in a harmless pastime?

You will notice that on the syllabus "Arts and Crafts" is given as the subject of this lecture. I am afraid however that the title is rather misleading. It is not quite the title that I should have chosen, it is not, in fact the title that I chose. I wanted to call it "Sunlight and Soap", but our energetic secretary, either because of his imperfect sympathy with the allusiveness of a southron, or because he considered the phrase lacking in decorum, demurred to my suggestion and directed me to choose a substitute by telegram, or he would invent one of his own. He had not prepaid the reply, so I left it at that, but if I can succeed in making clear what I am driving at I think you will agree that "Sunlight and Soap" would have been a more accurate description.

It is not my phrase, not even my idea. I owe both the phrase and the root idea of the matter to a Burman, a casual acquaintance whom

* A lecture delivered on the 22nd January, 1918 at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition.

I met on Mergui pier. Some of you will know Mergui, the Island of Delight, the Malays call it. It is a pleasant place with blue seas and wooded islands. Beyond the town there is a little pier, and one evening when I had walked out there to enjoy the freshness of the breeze I found a Burman on the pier, sitting, meditating. We watched the colours change and fade, and at the time that two brothers meeting could hardly recognise each other I turned homewards. The Burman also rose and as we went along the pier we fell to talking.

"You know," he remarked, "we need that, we Burmans. You people who wear trousers, like soap and disinfectants and drains and bye-laws and conservancy inspectors; if there is dirt lying about you seem to feel unhappy; perhaps, if there was too much dirt, it might make you ill. That's the way we feel, working day after day, earning our bread; we feel unwashed; unless we have our fill of sunlight and shadow and the blue mist over the river our mind is perturbed. If we are deprived of it too long we fall ill. That is the difference between you and us; we need sunlight, just as you need soap".

That is only one way of saying that east is east and west is west, but the difference had not struck me in quite that way before. Now if there is this fundamental difference between east and west, as is so often alleged, or until recently was so often alleged, if there is no meeting place whatever this exhibition that we have attended is of very little use, and our Society is of no use, no serious use, no practical use at all. It behoves us then to examine that old tradition, which like so many of our old traditions is really of quite modern growth. Fortunately the case has been recently and very ably stated in a book entitled "Form and Colour"⁽¹⁾ by Mr. Phillips, the art-critic. He has worked out in detail, and amplified with abundant illustration, the suggestion of my Burman acquaintance that the east is emotional, governed by the senses, and the west practical, governed by the intellect. He finds in Art and Nature a corresponding antithesis between Form and Colour. Let me state his theory in his own words; "Form is always in all circumstances of art or nature intellectual in its essence. It speaks directly to the understanding. Moreover in consequence of its intellectual nature it appeals most strongly to intellectual races and periods. It is strong wherever and whenever intellect is developed, and weak wherever and whenever intellect is undeveloped. If the sense for form has always prevailed in the west it is because the west has particularly relied upon and cultivated the intellectual faculty. Further, in the West it has prevailed most and achieved its finest successes when the intellectual stimulus behind it was freshest and most vital, as in classic Greece and Renaissance Italy. On the other hand colour being emotional in its essence has always appealed most strongly to emotional races. Thus the colour sense is indigenous to the East because the East has always relied upon the emotional faculty, the faculty of passive intuition as opposed to active thought." He proceeds to draw up categories of contrasting qualities; hard and soft, positive

(1) "Form and Colour" L. March Phillips, (London, Duckworth & Co. 1915.)

and negative, active and passive, masculine and feminine, solid and fluid, intellectual and emotional, form and colour; the former, he says, characterise the West, the latter the East; soap and sunlight, as my Burman acquaintance put it.

Now it would hardly be possible to state the antithesis between West and East more strongly; if this great difference does exist between them how futile are the professions of our Society, and how sterile these annual exhibitions! Let us then examine his arguments. You will notice that there are three parallel antitheses. He contrasts Form and Colour, Intellect and Emotion, West and East. In nature the emotional appeal of colour increases as it is liberated from the control of form. In daylight there may be vivid colouring, but objects strike our attention by their form, and the colour only serves to denote their form more clearly and thus to accentuate their intellectual appeal. At dusk, in deep woods, in cloudy sunsets, or in the moonlight, the play of light and shade exerts its influence directly on the emotions, the quality of form is veiled, objects hold our attention by their colour, our rational faculties are drugged and our emotional nature is set free. It is the same in art. We have Greek sculpture and Greek architecture appealing to the intellect through form, and representing the West untouched by oriental influences. On the other hand, where eastern influences have impinged upon the West, we have Byzantine interiors, mediaeval glass work and the Venetian painters, appealing to the emotions through colour.

In the East there is no history nor progress because these are intellectual achievements; emotion is personal and not to be communicated. Even in the theory of life, in philosophy, the East has repudiated form; *Aneissa*, *Anatta*, matter is an illusion, impermanent and consequently form is meaningless. But colour is supreme in daily life; in the clothing of the people, in the streets and the bazaars we find a wealth of colour that betrays the predominance of emotion over intellect, just as the sombre trapping of the west bespeak the supremacy of reason.

That is a broad outline of his argument, a summary incomplete and over-simplified, but sufficient for our purpose. In the East sunlight for ever warm, and still to be enjoyed, for us the weariness, the fever, and the fret, the busy cares of polishing and scrubbing. East is East and West is West, and he has shown us the reason why. Let us apply this theory to Burma, to the East we know.

What better example could we find than Burma, this "land of colour, light and laughter." The emotional nature of the Burman is emphasised in every annual report and every tourist's handbook; it is a commonplace of universal and every day experience. How is it with art in Burma? The national art, the art in which the Burman is probably unrivalled, the art of dress, is wholly, in Burma, an art of colour. With that exception the arts of form and colour hardly exist. Excluding the era of Pagan, a few traditional models have satisfied the architectural instincts; there is carving of wood and ivory, but no sculpture, and the

paintings are merely conventional designs or coloured patterns. None of these have great artistic interest. But the buildings are plastered with gold, vermillion and mosaic; the carvings and drawings, though inaccurate and lacking in detail, have bold suggestive outlines. Take the typical figure of a horse. You have never seen a horse quite like it, anatomically it is incorrect, but, far better than many drawings technically accurate, it does convey the ideal figure of a horse, the horse of the Psalmist, his neck clothed with lightning, stamping the ground and saying ha! ha! to the enemy. Again, what European artist could be more successful than the Burman in suggesting the weight and wisdom of the elephant? The form is wrong but the feeling is there. Let us just glance through the hand-book in this exhibition. In the silver work "the shapes are few and the differences are rather in ornamentation and size than in outline..... The figures have traditional poses, cramped and unnatural to European eyes, but to those who understand, they tell the story much more completely than would mere accurate drawings." The jewellery again, is "mostly of a rather stereotyped design." Or turn to the remarks on the use of wood in architecture. "Unlike architectural ornament in Western countries, which as a general rule emphasizes structural detail, the Burman wood carver sought rather, by his work, to hide and disguise the skeleton which he covered. His work was ornamentation pure and simple; it has no structural meaning." Other excerpts might be made but these will suffice to show that the fundamental contrast alleged to distinguish East and West not only can be traced in Burmese art but finds official recognition in the local Art Department.

Mr. Phillips has only considered the arts of form and colour, of sculpture, architecture and painting, but in every art there is form and colour, reason and emotion; in literature also and in music. In literature, prose is the language of reason, poetry the language of emotion. In Burmese literature there is no prose. Or rather, we may say that the prose is not literature; there are law books, and chronicles, and historical records, but these are not art forms. Here you may wish to interrupt me with the remark that I have forgotten the novel. The novel is a recent development, we will deal with that later. There is also the specialised form of poetic prose, but that is euphuism, rather it is *vers libres*, poetry lacking even the form of verse. Thus Burmese Literature is really confined to poetry, and this is super-poetry, poet's poetry, it is so largely built of colour, of emotion, that it is almost unintelligible to the European; and much of it is unintelligible to many Burmans. As I have suggested elsewhere, the poet creates the ornaments conscious that a fit audience will supply the argument. Again, in Burmese music the European ear which is not deafened by the strident clarion will recognise ever recurring emotional crises in continual succession. I do not say that the music is devoid of form, but the form is of the simplest, and though straightforward in intention, is always on the point of vanishing in a coruscade of variations. Throughout the whole range of Burmese

life and art, colour and emotion are supreme; form, the intellectual quality, is almost non-existent. Here in Burma, if anywhere, East is East and West is West, and we of the West are out of place as quakers at a carnival.

What more is there to say? "Look how far the East is also from the West." Our fathers have told it unto us and men of old time have declared it. Here we have the whole mystery explained; the West is intellectual, the East emotional; intellect is expressed through form, emotion is expressed in colour; the art of the west is the art of form, the art of the east is the art of colour. We test this explanation and out of our own private experience we find it corroborated. With Mr. Phillips we may contrast the "steady unhurried step, the self-controlled almost emotionless manner, the purpose expressed in look and bearing, the disciplined clear scientific well-organised system of life" among western peoples with "the passion, the emotional force, the spiritual bias and the weak indefinite impulses in the sphere of practical execution which make up the play of forces in Oriental life."

And yet and yet we are of the West and criticism is our heritage. As business men, as practical men, we have no use for such a theory. If it is true it is superfluous; if untrue, it is dangerous. If the theory be true and the East has no faculty for business it is waste of time to talk about it. We need only do business, and take business profits. If, however, the east has a faculty for business, the theory may blind us to the fact until we wake up one day and find that the business has been taken over by the East. And some of us, all of us here perhaps, will resent the suggestion that we are moving among impenetrable mysteries, that we may touch not, taste not, handle not; that the sanctuary is closed against us, that we may never venture beyond the outer court, the court of the gentiles.

Let us then test the theory by some particular applications. Mr. Phillips, in contrasting the principles of Eastern and Western architecture, cites the War Office as an example. "The quality of Western architecture," he says, "is unmistakable. I do not pretend that it is always or even that it is often beautiful, but it persistently retains the attributes which mark a constructive race. Among the ugly buildings of London it is probable that the New War Office will secure in the judgment of history a high place. But let the reader the next time that he passes it force his reluctant eyes to appreciate the rigid, perfect construction of every part of it, and he will agree that there is something here more noteworthy even than ugliness. Not a throb of pleasure in the work itself, in the things taking shape under their hands, not a moment's pride in the thought that their fellow citizens would look with delight at their achievement, helped on those workers. It was mere dull stupid routine from beginning to end. Is it not evident that to these workmen the clear and exact definition of form is something sacred, so sacred that even when it is put to senseless uses, even when it is wholly cut off from the life of the present and made to convey a few classical allusions

and ideas which nobody understands, or cares for, they still instinctively treat form with care and reverence."

Now you will notice that this eulogy is not of the architect; it is of workers. But if you look down the road at the new hospital you will see something equally marvellous. I do not wish to suggest that the new hospital is as ugly as the London War Office; in its way, and if there were room to look at it, it is as fine a specimen of bureaucratic byzantine as any building in the east; but it has this quality in common with the War Office, that it shows no signs of tumbling down, and the workmen must presumably have been inspired with the same reverence for form. These workmen, of course, were orientals, and if the mechanical accuracy of the War Office buildings indicates the instinctive respect of the workmen for form the same instinctive respect is manifested in the hospital.

Let us try again. "The best of Hindu thought," he says, "is recorded in the apses and domes of a Byzantine interior, in the mosaics of St. Mark's and in the domes of St. Sophia." However much these shrines may owe to oriental influence they are strange repositories for the best of Hindu thought. On the other hand we need not go outside of Burma to find Eastern examples of the art of form; granted that the Ananda lacks simplicity, the mass of the Thatpyinyu and the majesty of the Dhammayangyi depend for their effect on form alone, far more so than do Greek temples with the play of light and shade thrown from their columns on the marbles of the wall of floor. Here we have form in the East and colour in the West.

Form then is not the prerogative of the West nor colour of the East, and the theory is unsound. Even more unsound are the deductions from art to life. For one meeting place of east and west is obvious; they meet in the market place, in the bazaar. I do not refer to exceptional cases, such as the Tata works in Bengal, the Parsi banks and cotton mills of Bombay, nor to the practical achievements of Japan; but here, in Burma, in the rice trade, in timber, in cotton, in beans, in every article of import and export, East and West do meet, I do not say on equal terms, but on the same terms, and any one who considers that the East cannot furnish men of business will be cured of his delusion if he tries to rent a house in Cantonments in Rangoon. We find then that there is no fundamental necessary difference between East and West. They meet in the market place, and on the race course. They may meet in our Society. We have led Burma to the Market place; in the nature of things there is no reason why we should not lead it further by encouraging literature, art and science, and by assisting the development of Burmese arts and crafts. But we are as far as ever from ascertaining how we can do and what limits are set to our endeavours.

Let us briefly glance at what has been attempted in the past. The history of these attempts begins with Bentinck who, as Macaulay has told us in the inscription on his statue, made it "his constant study to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed

to his charge". But in those days there was only one standard of propriety in art and conduct, one standard of civilization: our own. Macaulay, looking forward to the days when all the Idolaters would forsake the Waters of the Ganges for the pure Fountain of the Protestant Religion, had visions of them seated in mid-Victorian attitudes on mid-Victorian chairs with orthodox antimacassars to protect the leather from cocoanut oil. In those days the school-master was abroad, panto-pragmatic, and very much abroad in India, instructing the Indian's untutored mind. It was above all the age of practical instruction; Mr. Squeers was teaching his scholars to spell winders and—a little later—in South Kensington budding scientists were learning how to measure off millimetres on glass rods. Here also we have been giving practical instruction in aesthetics. We have built a cathedral and in effect told the Burman that that is our idea of Beauty dedicated to Religion, a Chief Court to show him our idea of Beauty dedicated to Justice, a Secretariat, representing our idea of Beauty dedicated to Bureaucracy, and a Jubilee Hall to give him our idea of Beauty dedicated to Jubilation. We have been at that some time and we do not seem to have affected his sense of beauty very greatly, Burmese architecture continues much on the same old lines. The Art Department was another medium of instruction. That was given away in a report dating from the eighties where you will find an *obiter dictum* upon art. I have quoted it before but it will bear repetition. "Of all the artists working under the Art Department Mg. So-and-so is the best. He works up to time, complies with orders in rotation and takes apprentice pupils."² The perfect artist! We had tried to lead the Burman along the way that he should go, and had only reached the point of putting art on a commercial basis; we had come back to the market place, to utilitarianism, where we started.

By then, however, the vein of mid-Victorian inspiration had petered out; in Burma, as in India, there was a period of stagnation during which there was nothing doing in the art line. We had recognised the futility of endeavours and marked time awaiting the new impulse that Lord Curzon brought. He was the apostle-missionary of a new gospel, the gospel of helplessness. The ancient monuments that the mid-Victorian had despised now became sacred edifices, sacrosanct. It was sacrilege to improve them, Philistine to restore them; the proper course, the only artistic course, was to conserve them. We confessed frankly that the genius which they enshrined was dead, and conservation became the order of the day. The authorities emphasised "the importance of not adding in the course of repairing a building, any feature to it which does not actually exist at the time the repairs are first taken in hand, however strong the presumption may be that it originally existed before the structure fell into decay."³ The pious Kyaungtaga who wished to embellish with a back ground of mosaic the golden figures of the Ananda was regarded as a Vandal. When the Petleik Pagoda was unearthed

² Report on General Administration, 1886.

³ Report of Supt., Archaeological Survey, Burma for 1906-07, p. 9.

the ambulatory was given a roof of concrete that certainly can never be mistaken for any part of the original design. For such an attitude there is something to be said; this much at least, that if the spirit of great deeds be dead, it is unprofitable to attempt them. But conservation of the letter was sin against the spirit, we no longer attempted to tell the Burman what to say, we were just helpless. There was a picture in *Punch* with the legend, "Go and see what little Cissie is doing and tell her not to." That was the attitude we adopted. We posted up notice boards warning the Burman off all paths but the one that he had already been along. That, we thought, was safe. Conservation may have been history but it certainly was not art, and the only positive result was utilitarian, utilitarian in two senses, that it was concerned, not with artistic, but with historic values, and secondly that it gave us structures like the concrete roof of the Petleik which had no merit but utility. Thus we had taken the Burman down another blind alley and the helpless school like its predecessor led directly to the market place.

It did not take very long to find that out, and there was a somewhat curious result. For the discovery resulted in a reaction to a pessimistic type of philosophic *laissez faire*. Mr. Havell was the master of the new school, and he and his disciples urged that, save for a few elect souls such as themselves, we were so helpless before the mysteries of eastern art that it was hopeless to look for any good results from any attempt at interference whatsoever. We were sure to do harm and could not do any good; much better leave bad alone. He was of the opinion that "it would be far better if India were allowed to work out her own artistic salvation without interference from the state."⁴ Here with the hopeless and hopeless school, we were back again at *laissez faire*.

Of all attempted solutions of the problem this is the most patently unsound. It may be true that we cannot teach the Burman artist what to say; and it may be true that we cannot buttress up dead art without reacting unfavourably on living art, that if we succeed in imposing as the standard old forms and old convention, we thereby tend to cramp and warp those new forms and new conventions that may be necessary to the expression of new ideas; but it is quite certain that we can not abnegate and disclaim all right of interference without by our very abnegation and disclaimer exercising influence. If no course be humanly possible but *laissez faire*, it is certain with the certainty of natural physical law that *laissez faire* is quite impossible.

A few years ago I paid a visit to Saigon, and while staying there took the train to a small town in the suburbs. In the same compartment was a young Annamese going to the same place. We had the carriage to ourselves, and got into conversation, very broken conversation in very broken French. Arrived at our destination we gave up our tickets to the station master, an ex-soldier who evidently spent his abundant leisure in cultivating his kitchen garden and living comfortably on the products. The boy appeared to have no business in particular and he constituted

⁴ "The Ideals of Indian Art," E. B. Havell, (London, John Murray 1911.)

himself my guide round the little town. He was enthusiastically French and pointed out with admiration all the achievements of the French administration; the train, the roads, the public buildings, the liquor shop, the police station, and the bazaar. Near the bazaar there were some out-houses; these in particular took his fancy. "Fairs *belles*—making pretty," he said in VIIth Standard French *faire belles les cabinets n'est-ce-pas, faire beaucoup belles* making much pretty." That was not the adjective that any European would have appointed to *cabinets* of the ordinary Public Works Department pattern. Nor would this Annamese boy have thought them beautiful if he had had any standard of his own to judge them by. But he had none. The comfort of the train, the excellence of the roads appealed to him; he liked being comfortable just as much as the French station master with his kitchen garden; that he had in common with the French, they judged these things by the same standard. But in the points of difference between the French and the Annamese he had nothing to guide his taste. We need not have gone to Cochin China for an example. We can illustrate the principle from the little hand book of this Exhibition, which we have already quoted. We find that "the ugly black umbrella" has replaced the old Burmese style of umbrella in popular use partly because of the prestige attaching to anything European, partly because of the greater convenience in carrying it. Again our attention is directed to "the hideous cast iron railings which many modern pagoda trustees with their hybrid tastes often regard as suitable." The diminished authority of native standards has exaggerated natural defects; in wood-carving the mass of meaningless detail and "over-elaboration of workmanship has rather increased than decreased of late years." Convenience in handling an umbrella makes the same appeal to Burman and European, that such an object should be beautiful had never occurred to the European and in that aspect of an umbrella they have no common standard. There is no disputing about tastes because all tastes are different and no disputing about convenience because all convenience is the same.

There you have the two conditions which absolutely preclude a policy of *laissez faire*; you may abstain from interfering but you can not leave things alone. It is not a mere human impossibility but a physical impossibility. The abnormal sense of beauty of the Annamese *Kalatha* may have been individual but that it was at all possible was due to a defective and lop-sided social environment.

This perhaps is a little obscure. It is, obviously, not quite easy to appreciate or by this time it would be a platitude. I will try to make it clear. There is a very instructive episode in the recent history of Cochin China. The French kept a tame Emperor who ratified all their decrees. But somehow the most absolute decrees bearing the sign-manual of the Emperor carried no weight; the country swarmed with dacoits, within sight of the capital there were villages in flames, the country was in debt, trade was at a stand still, and the whole province in disorder; the local mandarins professed good will but seemed quite incapable of anything

beyond good words. Until some Frenchmen found that an imperial seal existed, without which no royal act was valid. The emperor had been keeping this in his pocket, but the French borrowed it and had no further trouble. The seal was nothing, but it stood for everything. It was a symbol; the Emperor was really nothing more than a symbol, he was officially the head of administration and defence and he does not seem to have had much of a head for either. But he stood for very much more than that. He was the centre of religion, art and science. When his authority devolved upon the French they conducted the business of administration and defence much more effectively than he had done, but they could not be for the Annamese the centre of religion, art and science. The centre of attraction, the balance of the system had been disturbed; the forces that had focussed round the Emperor were dissipated, virtue had gone out of the social body, decomposition had set in. The boy's social environment was dis-organised, defective, the standard of his race had fallen; not the boy alone, but the whole of his society had become *deraciné*. On the other hand there had been re-organisation, but this had been on different lines. The very normal and human appreciation of comfort and good living that he shared with the comfortable French Station master was in no way distinctively a human character. It was no more human than are the monkeys in the Zoo here when they cuddle up together on a cold morning, or when they scratch themselves with such very human zest. So, in Burma, the Burman and the European, the Chinaman and Indian have nothing in common but their appetites. The lines of re-organisation are determined by the highest common factor. These problems of dis-organisation and re-organisation are the most difficult that face us in the East; so long as these two processes continue there can be no question of *laissez faire*. Only two attitudes are possible towards art, science and all those aspects of life that are not purely material: For and Against. In the most literal sense of the words, he that is not for them is against them. Mr. Havell's solution is impossible.

That brings us to a deadlock. We examined the proposition that some fundamental difference separated East and West and found it to be untenable; East and West do meet in the market place, and there is nothing to forbid us hoping to discover some other common ground. But our attempt to teach the East what to say was a failure, it led straight back to utilitarianism, to the market place. Our endeavour to teach the east what not to say took us no further. The suggestion that the East might get on better by itself proved unworkable. Theoretically we found it possible to influence the East, but we found that it was not humanly practicable to exert any conscious, voluntary influence, and, on the other hand, that it was quite impossible not to exercise an unconscious involuntary influence. That is the dead lock.

Now we are looking for a key. You may remember that Sir Henry Maine was once looking for a key. He noticed that mankind was normally unprogressive and the cause of the occasional fits of progress

he held to be "one of the great secrets which enquiry had yet to penetrate". If we can ascertain why the modern East displays such great material progress, and at the same time in other aspects of life so little progress, some would even say deterioration, we shall have taken a long step towards making a general advance along the whole line. The analogy of Form and Colour, Intellect and Emotion does enable us to hazard a wide solution. While Mr. Phillips professes to be contrasting East and West, and to find intellect in the West, emotion in the East, he is really contrasting Greek and Hindu; not Greek and Hindu as such, but the modern world that has passed under Greek influence with the world in which this influence has been weak or absent. That is the real line of demarcation between the progressive and rational world and the stagnant and emotional world. I do not wish to assert that progress is a monopoly of the intellect, but, without the intervention of reason, progress, if the word then means anything, can only be by the expedient of trial and error, just as a dog by trial and error finds the way to raise a latch. Reason saves all that waste of life, of energy and time, and man, the rational animal, is a labour-saving device of nature. Progressive eras are those in which the intellect is liberated. The Greek set the fashion of asking questions and we have caught it from them. The intellectual attitude is a property of nurture rather than of nature, an acquired character. It is the character, not of the West, but of the modern West; it is not germinal, no original native property of our species, we have acquired it, and what we have acquired we can pass on. In fact we have passed it on. The intellectual attitude with all its limitations is much more characteristic of the modern East than of the West; it is the stigma of the *nouveaux riches* in the world of western civilization, of the Russian intelligentsia, of the Young Turk, and I might cite other examples nearer England. Try the modern East by the other side of the analogy, and where you can find a greyer, more colourless world than that in which we live, not the East of our surroundings, there is colour and to spare, but the modern East to which all of us here belong, the modern East has caught the intellectual attitude in the aggravated form of intellectualism.

That is all that we have transmitted the intellectual attitude, probably all that we can transmit, certainly all that we, in the mass, can do; individuals may do more. Here then we have the limit of our influence; we can only hope to exercise an influence within the province of reason, of intellect.

This immediately indicates a method and tells us where we have hitherto gone wrong. Art is the expression of emotion and with Macaulay we have tried to teach them what to feel and what to say, or with Lord Curzon what not to feel and what not to say. What they ought to feel, or not to feel, to say or not to say, is, and can be no concern of ours. But how to say whatever he may have to say is very largely an intellectual problem; in that we can help him. When Japanese art invaded Europe in the nineties it brought no message as to what to say

but it taught new methods. Here in Burma we have had one similar conspicuous success, there is one outstanding example of a new art form that has taken on, the novel. The *Wuttu*, the *Zat-ôk* had been known for centuries, but they were inadequate as means of expression; the possibilities of the novel form were appreciated, and have been successfully exploited. Notice also that those novels have been least esteemed which have held most closely by European models, have been translations or adaptations rather than original Burman themes. That is one way then in which we can assist and encourage Burmese art, we must leave to them the emotion to be expressed, but we can help them in the method of giving expression to what they feel.

Let us turn again to the Hand-book for suggestions. We read on the first page that one of the objects of the Exhibition is to bring the craftsmen together, to give them "an opportunity of comparing their craftsmanship with that of others and of learning, by the comparison, how their work may be extended in scope and improved in technique". The separate sections illustrate this general thesis, show what has been done, suggest what there is still to do. Thus the making of silver statuettes had long been practised and "under the guidance of Mr. Tilly they have readily taken up the making of bronze statuettes." The "hideous cast iron railings" of the modern pagoda platform "might well be replaced by wrought iron of local design and execution". In pottery "it only needs a closer study of processes for them to take a place among art potters". Such are the legitimate functions of an exhibition such as this and along this line we may make valuable contributions to Burmese art and look for positive results.

There is still another matter even more important in which they require our help. It is not enough for the merchant to have something to sell and to know how to sell it; he has to find a market. I remember once a cultivator who received some seed from the agricultural department, followed their directions closely and obtained a bumper crop; it was of course new soil for that crop. But there was no one to buy it. That is a problem of organisation, wholly an intellectual problem. It is the same with the artist. He may have something to say and he may know how best to say it, but all that is no good unless he can find an audience; to provide an audience is an intellectual problem, a problem of adapting conditions, of controlling circumstances by reason. In England we generally leave it for solution by posterity.

We cannot expect to do much more in Burma than we do in England. We might do more but still we do something. This Exhibition is already something. It gives the craftsman an opportunity to sell his work, to experiment on the market for new departures from traditional methods, for umbrellas that may be carried more conveniently, for new styles of pottery, or pearl work. Here then we have the function of the West in Burmese Art, we can help the Burman to find out how to say whatever he may want to say, and we can make it easy for him to say it. That is the function and the privilege of our Society for the encourage-

ment of Burmese Art, and the gauge and measure of success of Exhibitions such as this.

That you may say is a difficult matter and not of great importance; the proper and sole function of empire is to keep up communications and to keep down crime. Well, the preservation of law and order is a very important business; the cleared and ordered spaces of large empires certainly facilitate the spread of new ideas. Christianity spread in the large space cleared by the law and order of the Roman Empire, Buddhism spread under the empire of Asoka, the political empire of the Church gave birth to religious liberty, the idea of political liberty grew up under the shadow of the Napoleonic empire. It almost seems as if the existence of large empires were an essential pre-condition of the birth of some idea inconsistent with the principles on which they stand. Marcus Aurelius was of a philosophic turn of mind, but if any one had told him that his sole importance and the sole importance of his empire was as an instrument for spreading the doctrine of a Jewish sect he would certainly not have been flattered. The large western empires of the present day have been shown to foster intellectualism, and this is certainly inconsistent with their long continuance. It may be that their sole justification and excuse is the spread of intellectual liberty, and that they are unconscious, involuntary, even reluctant agents of the process. I do not say they have no other justification, myself I would put forward higher claims, but I assert that if the preservation of law and order is regarded as the sole function of empire, the spread of intellectualism, and with that the decay of empire, is a necessary inevitable result. An empire on such basis is working out its doom.

The intellectual attitude, as we have seen, is catching, as catching as measles, and the epidemic follows much the same course. Everywhere, East and West, we instinctively recognise it as a disease. Anything serious, anything intellectual, that is, bores us. We can only stand a very limited amount. The evolutionary value of the faculty of being bored is the protection which it gives against the intellectual attitude. You will notice too how intimately we associate boredom with the other two antidotes to intellectualism, art and religion. But in Europe we were inoculated gradually, and under circumstances that at the same time strengthened the hold and habit of religion; with all this so dangerous was the attack that the Church was shaken and religion threatened. It is only now that we are gradually inheriting immunity. Here in the east, the modern east, it is a different story, they have been exposed to the infection at its height, and immunity has yet to be acquired. They are like those Fiji islanders who were decimated by measles. They take natural and quite inefficacious precautions to shut out the epidemic, just as we tried to shut out plague; the monasteries and the women keep aloof from western influence, and people spend their substance on riotous funerals as an instinctive protest against utilitarianism; these precautions are of value to delay the spread, but they are quite valueless as preventives against the epidemic. In medicine two ways are recognised by

which immunity may be acquired, by inheritance and by inoculation. In the west we first acquired, but have now, in some degree, inherited immunity; in the east we must apply the auto-toxin treatment. We have infected the East with intellectualism; this a necessary result and an infallible solvent of Empire on the material plane. But only on the intellectual side are East and West, as East and West in touch, and only by rational methods can we keep the intellectual attitude within the bounds of understanding. This is what I have suggested as our function in regard to art.

But you may still ask why begin with anything so difficult and of such little general interest as art and literature. This must be the most difficult way to set to work; art is the expression of emotion, and we can only act within the confines of intellect, why not start with something easier, something practical. There is a very good reason; it would, in theory, be easier to help the shop keeper but directly you attempt that you run up against vested interests. In practice it is more difficult to do so. It might be easier to start with science, but there are certain initial difficulties. Still something might be done along that line and I should like to see our Society, and Government for that matter, attempting to encourage the study of natural history in schools. Apart from that nothing but art and literature remain, and if we can achieve any result in this direction we shall be able to apply our experience in the utilitarian world. That is why I regard our Society and this Exhibition as important. We are faced with a difficult position and ours is the most difficult approach; but here the position is unguarded save by its natural difficulty. At the taking of Quebec Montcalm had posted all his guards and his position was impregnable, save at one point so difficult that he had left it weakly guarded. But Wolfe found a path there, the forlorn hope rushed the weak redoubt, and the battalions reached the Heights of Abraham. Then the other defences fell. That I claim as the privilege of our Society, position of honour in the great advance.

There is yet another reason for attacking the problem from this side. It is on this side that we are most able and most likely to obtain the assistance of Burmans who either from circumstances or from natural strength of intellectual constitution, have become immune to intellectualism, have studied western methods without forgetting their allegiance to those ties that are beyond the bounds of reason, and can say the better what they have to say through having learned in our schools how to say it.

That I take to be the purpose, the scope and method of a Society such as ours and of Exhibitions such as this. "The study is so full of toil, and the practise so beset with difficulty, that wary and respective men will rather seek quietly their own gain and wish the world may go well so it be not long of them." We at least do not deserve that censure.

J. S. FURNIVALL.

POTTERY IN BURMA.*

My purpose in this lecture is to give a brief outline of the ceramic art in Burma, and to indicate the possibilities and difficulties of its development. I cannot give you any history of the craft, because I have been unable to obtain any authoritative information. I doubt if any certain information is available. Simple pottery, the making of water pots, bricks, tiles, etc., of baked clay is almost world-wide, and it may have had an origin at that distant time before the races of mankind scattered to the four quarters of the globe; or it may equally well have developed independently in many centres. It is not difficult to imagine that observant individuals discovered for themselves that clay which could be moulded into shapes would dry and harden in these shapes,—who among us has never been tempted by a nice squashy piece of clay? They might from this observation have been guided to the idea of making convenient dishes or platters of such material. The accident of a fire, or of some waste fragment cast into the fire would lead to the discovery of the change which fire makes on clay, and from this to the making of pots is a natural though very possibly a slow and age-long development. One can, however, quite imagine the accident of this discovery occurring quite independently on many separate occasions. The step from unglazed to glazed pottery is a more difficult one, and perhaps less likely to be a matter of common observation. Hence glazed pottery has a smaller area of production than unglazed. Wherever lead ore is found the discovery of glazing becomes probable once pot-making is established. The chance application of some powdered ore to the pots before baking would give the clue, or perhaps the smelters of the ore may have tried to use the pots for smelting. In either case they must in time have noticed the effect produced, and with that natural desire to produce new effects ingrained in all of us the glaze may have been applied first as an ornament and subsequently found useful. All this is conjecture, but it leads one to the thought that it is not necessary to seek a common origin for all glazed pottery, or to assume that this art must have been passed on from one common centre. It has been urged that the Burman learned pottery work from the Chinese, but the theory, based as it is on etymology and the finding of a few relics of Chinese pottery in ancient ruins,—relics which are quite different from Burma pottery,—the theory can hardly be said to be proved and is in any case not of much importance. Within the province the bulk of the glazed pottery work is done by Talaings or in areas where the work has been started by Talaings. Kyaukmyaung, the most important centre in Upper Burma, was settled by Talaing captives. Pagan with its glazed plaques also bears record of Talaing craftsmanship, though no one can tell definitely the true origin of the craft of making glazed bricks such as are used in the oldest pagodas

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at Pagan. Further south many of the potters use technical terms of Talaing origin, though often their speech is no longer Talaing. The chief exceptions are among the people of the Southern Shan States; but it must be remembered that the Talaings have passed down that way and they may have discovered their art during their period of migration and left it as a legacy when they passed on. This opens up room for much speculation and not a little research, though there is very little chance of ever arriving at a certainty.

In the manufacture of pottery the starting point is a good supply of clay. Clay has been described as "an unctuous earth, capable of being moulded by the hand, and hardened by fire into a permanent form." Chemically speaking it is essentially a hydrated silicate of alumina. It occurs in large quantities all over the surface of the globe, deposited in beds of varying thickness. But while it is present in all lands, and the wide distribution of the potter's art is dependent on this, all clays are not suitable for potting. Were the clay the pure hydrated silicate of alumina mentioned above it would be white in colour. As a matter of fact clays are very seldom pure white, the prevailing shades being brown, yellow and blue. This colouration is most frequently due to iron, but other substances also give colours to clays and in addition to mere colouring matters they frequently contain sand, lime, organic matters and other substances, each of which modifies, in its own degree, the suitability of the clay for pottery.

The common property of all clays, present, however, in varying degrees is that property called plasticity. It is that which makes clay such a fascinating material for children, and grown-ups too, and which led primitive man to its use. Tomlinson, lecturer in Science, King's College, in a book on clays says, "The more I consider this property of plasticity the more wonderful and inexplicable does it appear. Take a mass of dry clay; it cracks easily and crumbles readily; add a certain proportion of water and it becomes plastic,—it obeys the will of the artist or the artisan, who can out of a yielding mass create new forms or perpetuate old ones. Drive off the water at a red heat and its plasticity is for ever lost; rigidity takes its place, the clay is no longer clay but something else. It may be reduced to powder and ground up with water, but no art or science can again confer on it plasticity. All this is very wonderful. There is another fact that is equally so; if we combine the constituents of clay in the proportions indicated by the analysis of some pure types of the substance, we fail to produce plasticity".

Most of the Burma clays are coloured, yellow predominating, the chief colouring matter being iron. When burned they give varying shades of red, from a bright brick red to an orange tint. For ordinary pottery work some of them are excellent as the results testify. But there are in various parts of Burma beds of white clay which are of considerable importance. As already mentioned pure hydrated silicate of alumina, the basis of all clays, is white. The material when fired will give a hard white substance,—the technical term is biscuit,—and for the higher

classes of china ware these white clays are necessary. Such clays occur in large quantities in Yamethin district, but they are also found in other but less accessible places in the Shan States, in Upper Burma, and elsewhere in the province. A rough sample sent to the Geological Department in Calcutta was reported to give a pale-coloured biscuit, to be infusible at 1,000 deg. C., and to be suitable for low grade china wares. The potters in the neighbourhood have known of these clays for a long while and use them as a slip in a manner to be described later; but they do not use them for the body of their wares, except for small articles, as they have not yet solved the problem of their manipulation in the furnace. A small plaque is exhibited in the collection outside, it has been broken across to show the fine white texture of a sample of the clay baked after proper washing and treatment.

Samples of Burma clays are shown in the exhibition; these have been collected from all over the province.

Before the clay can be used it is usual to mix it with water and give it a certain amount of time to mature; the process is known as levigation. In Burma, however, the potters have not usually reached that high skill in their craft which necessitates careful preparation of the clay, and, moreover, the need for levigation varies with the quality of clay. The Burma craftsmen in many instances find it necessary to mix varieties of clay, or to add more sandy material to the richer clay to secure a suitable plastic material which will stand the process of firing without cracking.

Given a suitable clay the art of the potter lies in giving to his plastic material the shapes which he desires. And here at the outset we have a division in the kinds of pottery produced in the province. On the one hand lie the wares which are beaten into shape; on the other, those which are moulded on the potter's wheel.

To deal with those beaten into shape first. This includes the bulk of the unglazed water pots, cooking pots and other articles of coarse earthenware. A lump of soft clay is taken, and may be it is given a rough shaping on the wheel, though this is not by any means necessary or usual, it is often shaped entirely without the wheel. It is worked into the rough outline of the form desired, thick-walled and smaller in size than its final shape. This is allowed to harden, the time depending on climate,—in the dry zone only an hour or two. The walls of the vessel are then beaten between two pieces of wood, an anvil and a beater. This compacts the clay and at the same time, of course, thins the walls and enlarges the size of the vessel. This process is continued until the final shape is reached, a shape which depends for its regularity on the skill of the potter, his accuracy of eye and hand; the wheel has no part in the shaping of the vessel, and the visitor will appreciate what this means if he examines the examples outside.

This method gives a very closely compacted clay which stands the heat of the fire, and subsequent use as a cooking pot, better than material shaped entirely on the wheel. The type of ware is illustrated at the exhibition by the small cooking pot from the Shan States and by the ordinary

water chatty. But there is a particular type of this ware in which a much greater degree of perfection is attained; this in the production of the hpongyi bowls made at Letthi on the Myitnge near Ava.

The work of the craftsmen can be studied at the exhibition. The process is similar to that already described and varies only in the degree of perfection attained. A rough shape is first modelled on the wheel and allowed to dry for about an hour to allow the clay to stiffen. The potter then takes a paddle-shaped beater and rounded anvil, and hammers the walls of the vessel between beater and anvil, gradually compacting and compressing them and at the same time enlarging and shaping the bowl. This process is repeated two or three times with intervals to allow the clay to stiffen. The result is a bowl with walls about a quarter of an inch thick remarkably true to shape. This is allowed some time to harden and then the craftsman, resting the bowl on a cushion to distribute the weight, with a circular metal scraper carves the surface of the walls, thinning them down to about one-eighth of an inch. The accuracy of eye and touch which this necessitates is a beautiful illustration of that skill which the finished craftsmen in all trades can acquire and is well worthy of some study. This bowl when fairly hard is polished with a pebble or a *gonyin* seed and a little earth oil. The result is a beautiful thin-walled bowl of rich brown. The baking is done in a kiln, but the colour, were it not for special treatment, would be red. The black colour is obtained by introducing some earth oil into the furnace after the pots have been backed and while they are at a high temperature. The kiln is then immediately closed down so that the pots are subjected to a smoky atmosphere at a high temperature. Under this treatment carbon in a finely divided state penetrates into the pores of the clay giving the fine glossy black finish to the ware. In the Shan States the smoky atmosphere is produced with paddy husk. It does not much matter what material is used, the effect desired is obtained by the use of an atmosphere containing carbon in a finely divided state.

In the collection will be found pottery of this hand-moulded class from Shwegu. This is red, instead of black, no earth oil having been used, and the firing having been done with a clean flame. The Shwegu pottery is some of it rather attractive, more particularly when the craftsman has produced material for local use and has not attempted to make articles to whose use he is not accustomed. The attempt to induce craftsmen to make "useful" articles—useful that is to say to the Europeans—very generally results in failure. This is true not only in Burma pottery, but in all the local handicrafts. The fault does not lie so much with the craftsmen as with those who thus encourage them to make articles whose use they do not understand. For unless the craftsmen thoroughly appreciate the uses to which their manufactures are to be put, they are not likely to create satisfactory designs. This one could prove time and again from local illustrations. When the customer has taken the trouble to make the craftsman thoroughly understand the use of the article, the innovation has been successful; when the craftsman has failed to under-

stand this, the innovation has been a failure. It is not the innovation which is objectionable, neither is it the craftsman's art which is at fault; it is just the lack of appreciation of the meaning of what he has to do which handicaps the craftsman.

We turn now to the other group of wares, those which are shaped on the wheel. This simple but very effective invention, the potter's wheel, has been used unchanged for ages. It is found in nearly all countries and in general idea is the same. It consists of a heavy horizontal table revolving easily on a central pivot, and it is generally of wood. With the aid of this machine the potter is enabled to produce with great regularity of outline a large variety of circular shapes. A lump of clay is placed on the surface of the wheel, the wheel is spun round, either by the potter's third hand,—one of his feet—or by an assistant, and the potter with the use of his fingers and a piece of wet rag rapidly draws the clay out into shapes continually changing, as he presses on one part or another of the clay. The process is illustrated at the exhibition by the group of potters who have been brought down from Kyaukmyaung. You will notice the easy way in which the pallet, the board on which the wares are moulded, is first levelled; the clay walls are then built as the wheel revolves. In the case of the large jar it would be impossible for the potter to reach the whole of the inside with his arm to mould it, and moreover the soft clay would not stand the full height; the jars are therefore moulded in two halves, the lower section being allowed a day to harden before the upper section is added. The method adopted to obtain a good joint between the two sections is worth attention. The largest size of jar produced will hold as much as 300 viss of oil, and its shape reminds one of the traditional jars of oil in the story of the forty thieves.

After the clay has been shaped it must be allowed to harden, and during the process considerable care has to be taken to shelter it from draughts. This is particularly true of the large wares. Uneven drying consequent on the play of air currents on the wares would result in cracks and the destruction of the work.

The bulk of the wares moulded on the wheel are glazed as well, and we shall therefore deal with this subject next, as it is the next process in their production.

The glazing material used in this province is either galena, or the slag from lead working, generally the latter. This material is ground to a powder, mixed with rice water and painted on to the surface of the green pottery. If lead slag be used, the result is a dark purple brown glaze such as may be seen in the large jars from Kyaukmyaung; the colour, of course, varies slightly with the nature of the clay to which the glaze is applied. If galena be used, the glaze is of a lighter colour. Generally when galena is used the clay is first coated with an engobe of white earth to secure a white surface for the glaze. The engobe is made by mixing with water the white clay already mentioned in dealing with clays. This is painted on to the green ware, and then after drying, the wash of glazing material is applied. The result of the use of galena on

white clay engobe is a glaze varying in shade from brown to light yellow. The lightest specimens are those from Kyaukdaing in the Shan States, and examination will show that in these wares the glaze is very thin. The effect of the white engobe is clearly shown in the green glazed basins from the same place, as in some of these the engobe had not been entirely covered with glaze.

As a variation to the brown and yellow, a green glaze is sometimes introduced. This is obtained by mixing copper sulphate with the ordinary lead glazing material. At Pagan and elsewhere in the province some of the pagodas are decorated with green glazed plaques produced by this method, thus showing that the method is not by any means a new discovery. A plaque of this kind dating about 1200 A. D. is shown in the case with the clays. The green glazed bricks of the oldest pagodas date back possibly several centuries earlier and the origin of the art is therefore a matter of conjecture and a problem which is not likely to be solved.

There is, however, one very interesting exception to the use of lead glaze, and that is found in the ware from Mongkung. This ware, which cannot fail to attract attention, has a beautiful green-grey glaze. It would be more accurately described as a stoneware rather than an earthenware, the clay used being of a very high quality. A broken piece of the ware is shown in the case of clays and visitors will notice the texture of the material. Mr. Kingsley, assistant superintendent, Loilem, has very kindly sent me details of the method of glazing. Lead is not used, but the glazing material is obtained from two sources. The one material is obtained by collecting a particular kind of vegetable matter found on the surface of the hills and water-logged fields. The earth is carefully removed from this, and the remainder, the organic matter, is collected. The second material is the ash of the tree known as the *Mai Kut*. These two materials are mixed in the proportion of two of the first to one of the second and are applied as a wash to the surface of the green pots. This is a most interesting case, because in this out-of-the-way place one finds an entirely different form of glaze, corresponding chemically to the alkaline glazes used in Europe, though the process is quite different, and it is noteworthy that in both cases the glazes are used more particularly on a stoneware.

We now come to the process of firing. This is nearly always done with timber fuel. It is the difficulty with fuel which has done so much to kill the pottery industry in Burma. In Upper Burma the potters can still manage to get fuel at a reasonable rate, but in Lower Burma the question is a difficult one. Thus a quantity of fuel which at Kyaukmyaung in Shwebo district can be obtained for Rs. 2-8 costs Rs. 11 at Twante. Since fuel is one of the main items of cost in the manufacture of pottery, it will be seen that this difference in price is a very serious matter. Considering calorific values alone and taking coal at Rs. 14 per ton the equivalent value for wood fuel would be Rs. 7-8 per hundred cubic feet of stacked fuel. It will be seen therefore that the price of

Rs. 11 per hundred cubic feet at Twante has crossed the line, and it would be cheaper to use coal at normal pre-war prices. To do so, however, would necessitate a certain amount of instruction for the potters, as they would have to learn to modify their kilns. Another material which might supply a cheap fuel and which is present in excess in the Delta is paddy husk, a material which, as a matter of fact, is actually used in the light-fired wares from Shegu near Bhamo. This again would need experiment and an alteration of the kiln.

The kilns used vary somewhat in shape, but the general shape is a domed structure, oval in plan, with a firing hole at one end and a smoke outlet at the other. They are built of unburned bricks which, however, bake in the first two or three firings. The largest are at Kyaukmyaung and Twante, some of them being as much as 30 feet long by 12 feet wide by about 8 feet high in the centre. But in many cases they are considerably smaller.

The dried pots are placed in the furnace, carefully piled, so that they shall not damage one another, and raised on pedestals provided for the purpose so that the hot gases may get at them. A space is left in the front of the kiln and a fire of fuel is laid and lighted. The entrance is then blocked, except for a small hole through which fuel can be fed as necessary and through which the wares can be inspected. The flames bring the wares up to a bright red heat, which is the proper baking heat, and after they have been allowed to cool slowly they are removed. In the case of small and delicate wares the wares are sometimes placed inside jars which are being baked at the same time. These jars act as sag-gars and protect the delicate wares from the fierce action of the flames, which might damage them if they were to play direct on them.

I have already mentioned the process of manufacture of black pottery and need not repeat it again here. The black pottery is very attractive and examples will be found outside. It is capable of considerable development and as a special ware might find a good deal of encouragement, if the potters would develop their output to suit modern needs. The popularity of the ware at this exhibition will do much to stimulate the potters. Looking at this ware, and there are plenty of examples, one is reminded of ancient black Greek pottery. The coloured design is not there, but it could doubtless be added. It is probable in any case that the method used in obtaining the black surface is similar.

The whole of the Letthit exhibit is, however, well worth attention. The forms may have been copied or they may have been created by the potters. This is a matter of no importance; the fact remains that many of them are decidedly attractive. In the hpongyi bowls the workers show their craftsmanship to the best advantage, but some of the other wares in this class are very pleasing in form.

Bassein sends a good example of bad work, bad in design, bad in execution. Bassein was once an important pottery centre, but whether it be that the skilled labour has been degraded, or whether it be that industrial conditions have been against them, there is no denying that the

potters of Bassein do not do the province credit, and have not done so at any of the Rangoon exhibitions to which they have sent materials during the last two or three years.

Shwegu has contributed a small collection. The process of manufacture is very similar to that of the Letthit ware; but owing to the use of a clean flame in the kilns the ware obtained is red instead of black. The difference is due to the clean flame as opposed to the smoky firing of the Letthit kilns.

The best example of crude hand formed ware is the small cooking pot from the Southern Shan States. This type of ware is used all over the states, being carried to considerable distances.

I would also draw attention to the rather skilful work of the man from Henzada who exhibits the process followed in making small clay figures. The figures are only toys, but they are attractive none the less.

Turning to the glazed pottery there is a fairly large representative collection from the main centres of production. Kyaukmyaung exhibits its jars which cannot fail to attract attention by their size as well as by their really artistic value. The jars are graded in the trade by the number of viss of oil they will hold. They used to be exported to India, largely from the port of Martaban, and they are mentioned by the early European writers on Burma. Sir Henry Yule gives several references to Martaban jars dating back to 1508. Mr. Lockwood Kipling, while discussing the question of jars made in Delhi and which bear the vernacular name of "Martaban," observes:—"In 1869 the writer, while passing through Delhi, purchased a number of jars and took them to the London Exhibition of 1870, where this line texture of glaze, a rough duck-egg like coating, was admired by connoisseurs, notably by the late Mr. Henery Fortuny, a celebrated Spanish painter then in England. One of the articles, by the way, happened to be marked Martaban, the native name for the jar, and was afterwards described on a museum label as coming from Martaban, a port on the Burmese coast. This curious story has double interest in that it proves the comparative antiquity of the Burmese ceramic art and the very modern character of the application of the Indian potter's skill to domestic purposes. There would seem little doubt that the Martabans sold in India a century ago were entirely imported from Burma and were distributed as regular articles of trade even in such remote inland towns as Delhi. It is said that prisoners of war have been smuggled out of the country in some of these jars; if one regards their size one can quite believe it is possible."

Another rather interesting exhibit is the small vessel from Pekon in the Southern Shan States and some similar vessels of not quite such good quality from Limi, a village some thirty miles south of Yawngghwe. They remind us of the Greek amphorae and they are used for the same purpose, for they are used to hold the local wine or spirits. Similar needs have produced similar shapes; one can only suppose that the shapes have been arrived at independently.

The Pyinmana exhibit is well worth a little attention. Saya Pu has progressive ideas and has produced a more finished glaze than is usual among Burma potters. One must bear in mind that these potters have not the advantage of technical advice, and progress is due to real individual effort and inventive ability. Visitors who have seen the Pyinmana work at the last two or three exhibitions will appreciate the progress made, progress in colour and in glaze.

There is no exhibit of ware from Twante. Twante was once an important pottery centre and still produces a good deal. The characteristic ware is glazed and has a deep purple brown colour which is not unattractive. The rising cost of fuel has hit the potters badly and their profits have declined. The demand for latex cups for the rubber industry has lately given their trade a small fillip, and they now turn out fairly large quantities of these articles. But so far as art ware is concerned Twante cannot boast of very much nowadays. At times, and more particularly in the past, they produced large jars and basins with a small amount of ornament which were distinctly attractive; generally however when they indulge in ornament they over-indulge and spoil their wares.

I said that my object was to indicate the possibilities and difficulties of development of pottery in the province. I have given you an outline of the methods followed and have in so doing hinted at some of the difficulties. As I said before, the most serious difficulty in the south is the rising price of timber fuel. But in addition the potters are at present working without organisation and without instruction. Progress in methods for them necessitates a hard upward climb by individual effort. Co-operation may give the required organisation, but co-operation has so far only touched one area, Kyaukmyaung. With a detailed discussion of the possible developments I hesitate to take up your time, it sounds too much like an attempt to indulge in prophecy. But when one remembers that the annual import trade in pottery is worth 25 lakhs and that a great part of this is in crude ware which the local potters could produce were they given a little instruction, one feels that the possibilities of development are very considerable. When one further bears in mind that Burma once had a large export trade and that as a province it is very well provided with pottery clays and a variety of glazing materials, one turns hopefully to the future. The material is excellent, the craftsmen are numerous, and considering the lack of instruction highly skilled. Given a reasonable chance Burma should become a great pottery centre.

A. P. MORRIS.

Note.—Since this lecture was given funds have been provided for experimental work at the Government Engineering School, Insein. The use of paddy husk as a fuel has been proved to be suitable for unglazed ware and experiments are now being carried out to determine a suitable design for a paddy-husk-fired kiln for glazed wares.

Th process used in the manufacture of the old Greek red figured black pottery has also received attention and starting with Letthit black ware various processes have been tried. Red figured wares have been successfully produced and it is believed that the lost process of the Grecian red figured black pottery has been rediscovered. It is hoped that ere long the Letthit potters will be able to produce a Graeco-Burman art ware.

BUDDHIST NIBBĀNA, AN ESSAY.

Note:—The publication of this Essay has been necessitated by that of the Dialogue by U Shwe Zan Aung. After consulting some Burmese works on the subject, I wrote the Essay in August 1917 and sent it to U Shwe Zan Aung, who returned it with a separate note of his own, advancing further theories on the subject.. During our subsequent personal interviews it was agreed that these theories should be committed to writing and a dialogue on nibbāna was promised.. I have thought it proper to print my Essay as it was written in 1917, together with the Dialogue so that readers may see how far U Shwe Zan Aung agrees with me on the subject..

The word 'nirodha' of the third Ariyan Fact (dukkhanirodham ariyasaccam)¹ is generally translated as *Cessation*. *Visuddhi Magga*² and *Sammohavinodanī* in its opening commentary on Sacca-Vibhaṅga give the derivation: "Third Ariyan Fact—inasmuch as *ni* means non-being (abhāva) and *rodha* means the ceaseless round of Ill in the ocean of existences (cāraka); *herein* (i.e. in nirodha) there is the non-being of the round of Ill (dukkharodha) called saṃsāracāraka owing to its being void of all planes of existence and destinies."³ Nirodha is thus the *locus* of the non-being of Ill. Care should be taken that the non-being is not applied to nirodha and emphasis should be laid on the adverb *ettha*; that is, in nirodha, wherein is the non-being of Ill. The commentators take pains to show that the non-being in nirodha is not the mere passing away and being nothing, obtainable at the cessant instant or the moment of dissolution (bhaṅgakkhaṇa)⁴ of the corruptions and the aggregates but the intrinsic nature of nirodha in the non-origination (an-uppāda) of the round of Ill. *Paṭisambhidāmagga* explains nirodhasaccānibbāna (i.e. the Fact of nirodha as nibbāna)⁵ by the non-origination (an-uppāda), non-occurrence (a-pavatti), non-birth (a-nibbatti), non-appearance (an-upapatti), not coming into existence (a-jāti) of Ill. And *Sammohavinodanī* on Dhātu-Vibhaṅga says that the five aggregates of matter and non-matter constitute the first Ariyan Fact of Ill; craving as the cause thereof constitutes the second Fact; and the non-occurrence of both Facts of Ill and its origin constitutes the third Fact of the cessation of Ill.⁶ It is clear therefore that on reaching nirodha the round of Ill becomes extinct so that it occurs no more because there is no genesis (uppāda). And the English word *Cessation* should always bear this meaning.

The commentary on *Nettipakarana* says that the Fact of Cessation is an unconditioned element (asaṅkhatadhātu)⁷ and the commentary on *Paṭisambhidāmagga* says it is called Nibbāna in the real, ultimate sense of Philosophy.⁸ Hence Cessation is an unconditioned element in the real sense (asaṅkhata paramattha).

¹ Page 426 of Burmese edition.

² Tatiyasaccam pana yasmā ni saddo abhāvaṃ rodha saddo cārakaṃ dīpeti tasmā abhāvo ettha saṃsāracārakaṃ saṅkhātassa dukkharodhassa sabbagatisuññatā.

³ Ubhinnaṃ apavatti nirodhasaccam.

⁴ Paramatthato hi dukkhanirodham ariyasaccan ti nibbānaṃ vuccati.

'Parama' is explained by the commentaries as (a) paṭṭhāna, 'pre-eminent' in the sense of irreversibility or incapability of transformation (aviparitabhāvato eva paramo; paṭṭhāno) and (b) uttama, 'ultimate' not in the sense of 'surpassing in measure' (pamāṇa-atireka), as a king excelling other men by his kingship, but as a synonym for irreversibility in the sense that *phassa* has one irreversible quality, *vis*, 'contact.' 'Attha' is explained as (a) the intrinsic nature (sabhāva) of a thing or a thing *per se*; and (b) a sense-datum of infallible knowledge (paramassa vā uttamassa ñāṇassa attho gocaro).⁵ Paramattha may thus be defined as something real by virtue of its intrinsic nature and of which the essence is irreversibility and irreducibility. Cessation is therefore the reality (paramattha) of nibbāna.

There are two aspects of the Real: conditioned (saṅkhata) and unconditioned (asaṅkhata). "There are bhikkhus, these two irreducible categories—what are the two? The irreducible category of the conditioned, the irreducible category of the unconditioned."⁶ Conditioned states are those which are related to causes (sapaccayā)⁷ and consequently are liable to genesis, decay and dissolution. "What, Bhikkhus, are the three characteristics of the conditioned? Genesis is manifested, decay is manifested, transformation (lit. otherness) from the original state is manifested."⁸ Hence the reality of conditioned things consists in the intrinsic nature of the five aggregates of being; for the intrinsic nature of these latter is the mere mode of occurrence or procedure (pavatti) in accordance with *paccaya*'s or causal relations.⁹ In the real sense the five aggregates are only so many acts or performances; in them is no substance. For instance, the element of consciousness is a mere act of thinking, knowing, without possessing any permanent substance; the element of extension called the earth is really a mode of hardness or softness. Therefore conditioned reality is of the nature of the phenomenal and its essence lies in the continuous occurrence of the conditioned things.

As there is the reality of the conditioned so there is the reality of the unconditioned; for the nature of dhammas or states goes by opposites (paṭipakkha): "As where there is Ill there is ease, so where there is existence, there the escape from existence should be looked for. And as where there is heat, there is its opposite: cold, so where there is the three-fold fire of lust, hate and dulness, there nibbāna should be looked for. And as where there is evil, there is good, so where there is the nature of birth, there the nature of the birth-less should be looked

⁵ For documentary authority see the commentaries cited by Mr. S. Z. Aung in *Points of Controversy* (P. T. S.) pp. 371—373.

⁶ *Points of Controversy*, p. 55.

⁷ *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, 584.

⁸ *Tika Aṅguttara Nikāya*.

⁹ Yathā paccayaṃ hi pavattimattam eva yadidaṃ sabhāvadhammo nāma—Sumaṅgala in his *Tikā-kyaw* on Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha.

for.”¹⁰ Unconditioned reality is nibbāna which, by the law of opposites, is not related to causes (a-paccaya), that is, absolute and is the escape from genesis, decay and dissolution. “What, bhikkhus, are the three characteristics of the unconditioned? Genesis is not manifested, decay it not manifested, otherness of the original state or transformation is not manifested.”¹¹ So, as surely as there is the continuous flux of conditioned things, there is the cessation thereof. That is to say, as the reality of the conditioned consists in the ceaseless occurrence of the five aggregates, so the reality of the unconditioned consists in the cessation or the non-production of the five aggregates by means of genesis. Such is the nature of dhammas. Yaṃ kiñci samudayadhammaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ nirodhadhammaṃ—whatever is of the nature of origination all that is of the nature of cessation. Thus is the third Ariyan Fact of the Cessation of Ill the unconditioned reality of nibbāna. The existence of Cessation is asserted in *Udāna*: “There is, bhikkhus, that wherein is no birth, which is not the result of becoming, which is unmade, unconditioned. Where there is not, bhikkhus, such a thing, there would not be in this world the escape of what is born, the result of becoming, which is made, conditioned. But because there is such a thing as nibbāna, wherein is no birth, which is not the result of becoming, which is unmade, unconditioned, therefore there is the escape of what is born, the result of becoming, which is made, conditioned.”

It is because the reality of Cessation exists that it can be made the object of the Path, which puts away the round of Ill. Else, the continuous occurrence of Ill would go on for ever. Cessation is viewed under the two aspects of cause and effect: (a) as the cause or condition of the cutting off of Ill and (b) the effect which is the cessation of Ill. The commentary on *Paṭisambhidāmagga* says: “Nirodha is nibbāna; for by arriving at nibbāna Ill ceases. Hence it is called nirodha.”¹² Here nirodha is shown as the condition of the cessation of Ill. So also *Visuddhimagga* (p. 426) and *Sammohavinodanī* on Sacca-Vibhaṅga: “From being the cause (paccaya) of nirodha, the cessation of Ill, it is called dukkhanirodha.”¹³ For it is by making cessation the object of the four Paths that the Paths themselves are attained, and it is by the attainment of the Paths that the corruptions that would otherwise have arisen are completely put away, so that they occur no more. This is the causal aspect of Nirodha, and the cessation of the corruptions is the result. The nirodha, which in its positive aspect is the object of the Paths is the cause of the nirodha, which in its negative aspect is the cessation of Ill. Here the cause and the effect are only two aspects of one and the same thing, *viz*: the unconditioned reality of nirodha, so that the nirodha, which is the object of the Paths is the very same niro-

¹⁰ *Buddhavaṃsa*.

¹¹ *Tika Anguttara Nikāya*.

¹² Nirodho ti nibbānaṃ, nibbānaṃhi āgama dukkhaṃ nirujjhatī ti nirodho ti vuccati.

¹³ Dukkhaṃ vā anuppāda nirodha paccayattā dukkhanirodhan ti.

dha, which is the cessation of Ill. That is to say, the Paths, by making the unconditioned reality of nirodha the object, put away the corruptions; and when these are completely put away so that they occur no more, the result achieved is the unconditioned reality of nirodha itself. For if there were no nirodha to be made the object, the Paths could not be attained and the corruptions would continue in their ceaseless round of occurrence; hence the two-fold aspects of nirodha. Just as, by way of illustration, when a man sailing across the ocean from this shore reaches the other shore, he reaches in reality one and the same shore, so it is nirodha itself which, being the object of the Paths, is the condition of the putting away of the corruptions by the Paths and which, when the corruptions have been completely put away and arise no more, is the result attained.

The object of the Paths therefore cannot be the mere putting away of the corruptions. Functionally, nibbāna is to be realized by the Path (*sacchikātabba*), corruptions are to be put away by the Path (*pahātabba*), while the Path itself is to be cultured (*bhāvitabba*). The Path *to be cultured* makes as its object the nibbāna *to be realized* and thus puts away the corruptions *to be put away*. To say that the putting away of the corruptions is the object of the Path is to confuse a thing to be put away with a thing to be realized. On this point *Sammohavinodanī* on āyatana-vibhaṅga has an interesting discussion:—

“The unconditioned element is said to be the extinction of lust, extinction of hate, and extinction of dulness; wherein the unconditioned element is the unconditioned reality of nibbāna and because lust etc. become extinct by arriving at nibbāna therefore it has been said:—Nibbāna is ‘extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness.’ This is the consensus of opinion among the teachers. But the sectary says: There is no separate thing as nirodha nibbāna; the extinction of the corruptions itself is the nibbāna. On being asked to quote a sutta, he quotes the *Jambukhādakasutta* in support of his view: ‘Friend Sāriputta, it is said: Nibbāna, nibbāna. What is nibbāna? That which is the extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness is called nibbāna.’ He should be asked whether the meaning of the term nibbāna is to be taken according to this sutta. He will say: Certainly, there is no other meaning apart from the sutta. Then he should be asked to quote the immediately following sutta, *viz*: ‘Friend Sāriputta, it is said: Sanctity, sanctity (*arahatta*). What is Sanctity? That which is the extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness is called Sanctity (*arahatta*).’ Then they say to him: ‘Nibbāna is a dhamma included in the dhammāyatana, sanctity is the four mental aggregates. The Generalissimo of the dhamma, Sāriputta, who lived in the realization of nibbāna, on being inquired about nibbāna and sanctity has spoken the extinction of the corruptions in each case. What! are nibbāna and sanctity the same or are they different?’ ‘Whether they are the same or different, what benefit is there by being exceedingly subtle in this matter? You do not know whether they are the same or different.’

‘But is it not good to know it?’ Thus pressed, the sectary unable to evade the question says: ‘From arising at the end of the extinction of lust etc., Sanctity is called extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness.’ Then they say to him: ‘You have accomplished a great deed! You should say so even when you are bribed. Even as you have explained sanctity, so note nibbāna. For by arriving at nibbāna lust etc. become extinct. Hence nibbāna is called extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness. Indeed these three names are synonymns of nibbāna.’ If the sectary is convinced by it, well and good. But if he is not, he should be shown the multiplicity of nibbānas (that would result from his statement)!. He should be asked: Is the extinction of lust of lust only or of hate and dulness also? Is the extinction of hate of hate only or of lust and dulness also? Is the extinction of dulness of dulness only or of lust and hate also? He will answer that the extinction of lust is of lust only, extinction of hate is of hate only, extinction of dulness is of dulness only. ‘Then in your view the extinction of lust makes one nibbāna; extinction of hate makes another nibbāna; extinction of dulness makes yet another nibbāna. And there would be three nibbānas in the extinction of the three immoral roots; four in the extinction of the four Graspings; five in the extinction of the five Hindrances, six in the extinction of the six groups of craving; seven in the extinction of the seven forms of latent bias; eight in the extinction of the eight kinds of wickedness; nine in the extinction of the nine states which are roots of craving; ten in the extinction of the ten Fetters; and there would be a nibbāna each in the extinction of the one thousand five hundred corruptions! Indeed in your view nibbānas are abundant without limit. Such a view should not be adhered to. Because lust etc. become extinct on arrival at nibbāna therefore a single nibbāna is called extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness. Accept these names as synonymns of nibbāna.’ If still un-convinced, the sectary should be shown the grossness of nibbāna in his view:—‘Stupid animals such as the bear, leopard, deer, monkey under the oppression of lust indulge in sexual intercourse, at the end of which their lust subsides. According to you these animals must be said to attain nibbāna. How gross must be nibbāna, how thick, not fit for the ear to harken. But it is not so. By arriving at nibbāna lust etc. become extinct. Therefore a single nibbāna is called the condition of the extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness. Accept these names as its synonymns.’ If the sectary still persists in his view he should be convinced by the argument of the ‘adoption.’ This question should first of all be put: Do you say that there is what is called the adoption? On answering in the affirmative he should be asked: At the moment of adoption have the corruptions become extinct, are they becoming extinct or will they become extinct? He will reply rightly that they have not become extinct nor are they becoming extinct but truly they will become extinct. Then he should be asked: What does adoption make its object? He will reply undoubtedly that Nibbāna is the object. Then they say to him: ‘But you admit that at

the moment of adoption the corruptions will become extinct only in the future; you therefore teach Nibbāna as the extinction of the Corruptions when these have not become extinct, as the removal of the latent tendencies when these have not been removed. Such a nibbāna does not fit in with the object of the adoption. It is not so. By arriving at Nibbāna lust etc. become extinct. Therefore a single Nibbāna is called the condition of the extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness. Accept these three names as its synonymns.' If the sectary still persists in his view he should then be convinced by the Path: The question should first of all be put if he believes in the Path. On his giving an affirmative reply he should be asked if at the moment of the Path the corruptions have become extinct, are becoming extinct or will become extinct? If he knows he will reply that it is not proper to say that they have become extinct or will become extinct and that it is proper to say they are becoming extinct in the present. Then they bewilder him by asking such questions as:—If this be so, which is the extinction of the corruptions, the nibbāna of the Path? Which are the corruptions extinguished by the Path? Which nibbāna, as the extinction of the corruptions, does the Path make its object and which corruptions does it cause to be extinct? Thus you should not adhere to such a nibbāna. But by arriving at nibbāna lust etc. become extinct. Therefore one nibbāna which is the condition of the extinction of the corruptions is called extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness. Accept these three names as its synonymns.' "

This proves conclusively that nirodha, the object of the Path is not the extinction of the Corruptions but is its condition and that sanctity is the result. And because it is at the moment when sanctity is attained that the corruptions become extinct, sanctity is the resultant aspect of nirodha. Sanctity is also known as sa-upādisesa nibbāna or nibbāna with a residue of upādi's or aggregates. "By the element of sa-upādisesa-nibbāna is meant arahattaphala."¹⁴ The commentary on *Maṅgalasutta* distinguishes between nibbānasacchikiriya and ariyasaccānadassanaṃ: The former is the result of the latter, nibbānasacchikiriya being explained as the realization of "the fruition of sanctity, which is called nibbāna because it is the escape from the craving called the forest of the five destinies," and which is thus cessation in the resultant aspect, while ariyasaccānadassana is explained as the seeing of the Ariyan Facts, and is thus cessation in the causal aspect. Sanctity has already been admitted by the sectary to be the result of the extinction of the corruptions in the discussion quoted above: "From arising at the end of the extinction of lust etc., sanctity is called extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness." For further evidence the commentary on *Netti* (p. 237) might be quoted: "From arising at the end of the extinction of the corruptions, it (sanctity) is called nibbāna."¹⁵ And

¹⁴ Sa-upādisesa nibbānadhātū ti arahattaphalaṃ adhippetam—Comy. on *Netti* p. 123.

¹⁵ Tañ hi kilesanibbānante jātattā nibbānaṃ nāma.

sanctity is called sa-upādisesa, because it is nibbāna attained by a saint, who has still the aggregates (upādi) of his being left over—to remain as long as he lives—after the corruptions have been completely put away by means of the Path. “The bhikkhu, in whom the intoxicants are extinct, who has lived the Ariyan life, done his duties, put down the burden, attained sanctity, in whom the fetters of existence have been destroyed, who is emancipated by means of right knowledge is the saint. Owing to the non-destruction of the controlling faculties which are established in him, he experiences what is desirable and what is undesirable, meets with ease and ill. His extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness is called the element of sa-upādisesa nibbāna.”¹⁶ And because—as has already been shown above—the causal and the resultant are only two aspects of one and the same thing, viz: the unconditioned reality of cessation, therefore sa-upādisesa nibbāna or sanctity is cessation itself. This is confirmed by the commentary on the last quotation, where “extinction of lust” (rāgakkhayo) is explained by “non-origination of lust” (anuppādo). Accordingly “extinction of lust” should be construed as “herein lust becomes extinct”¹⁷—and “non-origination” as “herein is no origination.”¹⁸ And the *local* aspect of sa-upādisesa nibbāna “wherein lust etc. become extinct” is shown by the comment on “complete nibbāna” (asesam parinibbāna) in *Itivuttaka* commentary, which says that “having extinguished the entire lust etc. by the Path of sanctity, it is established in the element of sa-upādisesa nibbāna.”¹⁹

A question might very well arise: If sa-upādisesa nibbāna is the unconditioned reality of cessation, then, like cessation itself, it must be the object of the Path? To be clear on the point, the resultant aspect of sa-upādisesa nibbāna should be well borne in mind. This name is given with reference to the aggregates of the saint, remaining over after the complete putting away of his corruptions by means of the Path. Hence at the time when the Path makes cessation the object, because the corruptions have not been put away, the name sa-upādisesa cannot yet arise. It might be used only in the sense that an effect is used for the cause.

In point of fact the complete putting away of the corruptions is accomplished in four stages according as there are four Paths: Sotāpatti, sakadāgāmi, anāgāmi, arahatta. And it is important to note that sa-upādisesa nibbāna is attained the moment one becomes sotāpanna, that is, reaches the first Path, where the first portion of the corruptions are put away, because a sotāpanna is assured of salvation, shut out from re-birth in purgatory or hell and is bound to become an Arahant or Saint. By the second and the third Paths, he puts away the second and third

¹⁶ *Iti vuttaka*.

¹⁷ Khīyati etthā ti khayō, rāgassa khayō—rāgakkhayō.

¹⁸ Natthi uppādo ti anuppādo.

¹⁹ Arahattamaggena asesam rāga ādiṃ nibbāpetvā sa-upādisesāya nibbānadhātuyam thitā.

portions of his corruptions, while by the Path of Sanctity the fourth and the last portion is put away, so that he is completely free from the corruptions and retains only his aggregates, with reference to which the word sa-upādisesa has been used. But when the graduated removal of the corruptions by means of the Four Paths is spoken of, the word *upādi* then refers not only to the five aggregates of the aspirant but also to the remaining portion (large or small) of his corruptions, when first the Sotāpanna removes his first portion of corruptions and attains sa-upādisesa nibbāna. And because by the first Path of Sotāpatti nibbāna is first attained, it is usually called *dassana*, the seeing or sighting of nibbāna.

When death comes upon the saint and his aggregates are dissolved, the nibbāna attained is not different but is the same sa-upādisesa. The difference lies only in the name, which changes from sa- to an-upādisesa, that is, to nibbāna without any residue of *upādi*'s at the death of the saint. Thus both names belong to one and the same thing, *viz.* the unconditioned reality of cessation, the former name being applicable as long as the saint is alive and the latter coming into force the moment death enters.

So *Visuddhi Magga* page 430 says: "Owing to the non-origination of the aggregates that would have arisen after the last phase of consciousness and owing to the disappearance of the aggregates that have already been originated there is the non-being of the aggregates; from being intimated with reference to this non-being of the aggregates herein (in an-upādisesa nibbāna) there is no residue of aggregates—thus an-upādisesa."²⁰ That an-upādisesa nibbāna does not mean annihilation or non-existence may be seen from *Samyutta Nikāya* page 150, which says: "The saint, on the dissolution of the body is established in the *dhamma* (dhammattho) and his personality is not counted as man, god, brahma or being." The commentary explains dhammattho as "being established in the nature of saints as well as in nibbāna itself."²¹ And *Itivuttaka* p. 148 confirms this by saying that in an-upādisesa nibbāna existences cease altogether.²²

Thus the two famous theories of the heretics are refuted *viz.* the annihilation view (ucchedaditthi) on the hand, by means of the establishment of the saint at death in the nature of nibbāna; and the eternalistic or Perdurant theory (Sassata ditthi) on the other hand, by means of the statement that there are no existences in nibbāna so that the saint is not counted as a being at all.

In the ultimate sense there is no personality (attā); there are only the five aggregates. On the death of the saint therefore only his aggregates are dissolved. How can he thus be said to cut off or annihilate

²⁰ Carimacittato ca uddham pavatti khandhānam anuppādanato, uppannānañca antara dhānato upādisesābhāvo; tam upādāya paññāpaniyato natthi ettha upādiseso ti anupādisesam.

²¹ Dhammattho ti asekkhadhammesu nibbāne eva vā tthito.

²² Yamhi nirujjhanti bhavāni sabbaso.

his personality or being (*uccheda*) or be said to live to eternity (*sassata*) without the aggregates?

Thus there is one single nibbāna *viz.* the unconditioned reality of nirodha or cessation; Sa- and an-upādisesa are only two names given to the result of making it the object of the Paths; and they serve the purpose of explaining the reality and the result so attained is the same as the cause or condition. As the commentary on *Netti* says: "Although there is no division, in the strict sense, of the unconditioned element in nibbāna, yet by a figure of speech it ought to be shown as sa- and an-upādisesa nibbāna";²³ and *Sammohavinodanī* has: "Nirodha is one by virtue of the unconditioned element, but by figure of speech it is two-fold: sa- and an-upādisesa."²⁴

It will have been remarked that the reality of cessation has been explained in negative terms only, because it is not possible to speak of it positively. No concept will convey the true meaning, no analysis will reveal the true nature of the Reality. It is by intuition or penetration (*paṭivedha*) that it is attained. "Being intent, one realizes the ultimate fact of cessation by the body and sees it by intuition through *paññā*"²⁵,—*by the body*, with reference to the removal of the corruptions from the body, material and immaterial and *by intuition*, when one views the removal of the corruptions with *paññā* as, when by attaining the First Path, the corruptions of the theory of soul, doubt, and belief in rite and ritual are removed, one realizes not only the physical removal of the corruptions but also lives in the intuition of the permanence of the removal, which is part and parcel of the reality of nirodha. When one contemplates Ill and its cause by means of insight, viewing them under the three aspects of genesis, development and dissolution, the unconditioned element enters at a flash by means of transcendental knowledge. Repeated contemplation by worldly knowledge brings about penetration or intuition by means of transcendental knowledge. "Seeing the faults of birth and death etc. in a dhamma connected with genesis (*uppāda*) the Path-consciousness enters running in non-origination (*an-uppāda*)."²⁶ When thus the Path-consciousness intuits the unconditioned reality of cessation, the corruptions which would otherwise have arisen arise no more. That is why cessation has been said to be the object of the Paths.

—Editor.

²³ Nibbānapakkhe kiñcāpi asaṅkhatāya dhātuyā nippariyāyena vibhāgo natthi, pariyāyena pana sōpādisesa nōpādisesa bhāvena niddissitabbaṃ.

²⁴ Nirodho pi ekavidho asaṅkhatadhātubhāvato, pariyāyena pana duvidho sa-upādisesa an-upādisesavasena.

²⁵ *Majjhima paṇṇāsa, caṅkī sutta.*

²⁶ *Paṭisambhidāmagga.*

A DIALOGUE ON NIBBĀNA.

Persons of the Dialogue

Agga
Teja

Sumana
Tissa

The scene is laid in the Nandavanta laura in the Sagaing hills.

Sumana. Good evening, Sir. How is Your Reverence keeping?

Agga. I am four score years old to-day, but I feel quite strong for my age. I thank you much for your very kind enquiry. May I know who you are?

Sumana. I am Sumana, a pupil of Dr. Ledi. Your longevity is the result of the purity of your *silas*.

Agga. Is your master hale and hearty?

Sumana. He, too, is advancing in years and is slightly infirm with age. But, though the flesh is weak, his spirit is as strong as ever.

Agga. He is comparatively young and it is my earnest hope that he will soon be restored to perfect health and be spared many more years to come so that he may be able to continue, with renewed vigour, the good work he has already done in the way of propagation of our religion. But will you tell me the object of your visit at this late hour in the afternoon, for you seem rather intent upon something?

Sumana. I have come here on purpose and I have brought a friend of mine with me.

Agga. You are welcome to my cloister. I have made this little retreat my abode since my master's death at Mingun as it was very suitable for meditation. There were very few hermitages then, but a great many have sprung up, like mushrooms, since. What is your companion's name?

Sumana. He is Tissa, a pupil of the late Dr. Myobyngyi.

Agga. I extend the hospitality of this my humble roof to you also, Tissa. Your master made the *Compendium of Philosophy* his speciality and, if I am not mistaken, he is followed by the majority of students of Buddhism in Burma. Is it not?

Tissa. I should think so, Sir.

Agga. Sumana, you have as yet to specify the nature of your business.

Sumana. Sir, we have sought you here because, in all accounts we have heard of you, you are represented as the only disciple of Dr. Shwegyin, who still holds the antiquated view that Nibbāna is something in the nature of a mental or spiritual. Perhaps we are disturbing your solitude. Are we interrupting your thoughts?

Agga. My thoughts flow as easily in conversation as when I am alone. I take your observations on my master's view in good spirit. He spent practically a life-time over the question of Nibbāna and the results of his labours in this field are embodied in a great work entitled the

Mahānibbutā-nibbuta. His is a view hallowed by antiquity and I adhere to it.

Sumana. But, Sir, was it not a fact that Dr. Ingan, the late head of your sect, who was himself the disciple of your own master, had expressed his opinion that Ledi's views are sounder?

Agga. Yes. Ingan was a fine scholar. But it does not follow that he was cleverer than his master.

Sumana. Ledi's view that Nibbāna is nothing but calm, tranquillity or peace (*santi*) has been accepted throughout the length and breadth of Burma.

Agga. Sumana, I am not alone in my persuasion that Nibbāna is something more than mere calm (*santi-matta*). I have up here a friend of mine from Henzada. His name is Teja. His master, U Ukkamsamālā, the late famous Doctor of Okpo, held that Nibbāna is unique mind and body. Is it not, Teja?

Teja. Yes, Sir.

Agga. The annihilationistic school, however, teaches in effect that Nibbāna is pure nothing.

Sumana. But this view of annihilation has been exploded by Buddhist writers. E. g., Sumangalasāmi, the well-known author of the famous *Tikāgyaw*, distinctly says that Nibbāna is not annihilation (*tuccha* or *abhāva*).

Agga. Quite so. But the fact that every writer has had to insist on Nibbāna being something shows, does it not, that this erroneous view has been held by many.

Even Ariyāvamsa of Sagaing, the author of the *Maṇisāramañjūsā*, a deep student, and an able exponent, of the *Tikāgyaw*, as late as the 15th Century, seems to have leaned, in his *Maṇidīpa*, to the annihilationistic view when he said that we should not use the expression 'Nibbāna is attained' because there are still khandhas in the Sa-upādisesa Nibbāna and because there is nothing left in the Anupādisesa to be attained. According to him the attainment of Nibbāna consists in having Nibbāna merely as an object of path and fruitional consciousnesses.

The commonsense school holds the extreme opposite view that Nibbāna is a paradise.

These two schools claim the ignorant majority.

Sumana. It is no good referring to the views of the ignorant.

Agga. Well, Sumana, I have brought this matter up at the outset with a double purpose: —

First, to extract from your own lips an admission that Nibbāna is something;

Secondly, to show that majority does not count in matters abstruse, recondite and philosophical, since you have endeavoured to convince me of the truth of Ledi's views because they are accepted by the majority.

Teja (interposed.) We all are agreed that Nibbāna is something, though we differ as to the nature of that.

Agga. Yes. Burma, I mean the Burmese Buddhist world of philosophy, is divided into three camps, so to speak. There is the Shwegyin school which holds that Nibbāna is spiritual mind, while the Okpo school advances the view that it is unique mind and body. The Ledi school, however, teaches that it is neither mind nor body but purely calm.

Now, before deciding which of these three views is correct, a few preliminary questions shall have to be gone into. Our philosophers bring four categories, to wit, mind, mental properties, matter and Nibbāna, under a more general concept of reality (*paramattha*). And Nibbāna is a reality of realities.

Sumana. Undoubtedly.

Agga. Then, it is essential that we should first of all clearly understand what is meant by reality. Do you agree?

Sumana. Certainly.

Agga. Pray, tell me, Sumana, what you understand by the term 'real.'

Sumana. I would define the real as that which is existent. This is in accordance with Buddhaghosa's explanation of the term in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* in the sense of manifestation (*bhūtattho*)¹.

Agga. The word existent is rather ambiguous. Does it include that which has existed, that which exists and that which will exist?

Sumana. Yes, it does.

Agga. Do you, then, mean that which has existed in the past is still real?

Sumana. I should think so, for I can vividly imagine yesterday's fire to be existent.

Agga. Here you have confounded an image with a reality of which it is but a representation. The latter exists independent of your mind but the former does not. The image is a symbol of one individual object depicted to mind's eye (*uggaha-nimitta*). What is called the after-image (*paṭibhāga-nimitta*) in the language of meditation is a concept, being the symbol of many objects. Both symbols, however, are mere signs (*nimitta-paññatti*) because they exist only in our minds like hare's horns or tortoise' hairs.

Sumana. I own it. But the two fires are alike in their characteristics of heating or burning.

Agga. Does yesterday's fire burn any one to-day?

Sumana. Nay, it does not.

Agga. The reason is that you are not comparing the two actual fires of equal intensity of to-day.

Sumana. I am comparing my *idea* of yesterday's fire with the actual fire of to-day.

Agga. You cannot compare two disparate things, e. g., an idea with a reality; you have merely compared your idea of yesterday's fire with your idea of to-day's fire.

Tissa (interposed). But, Sir, is not a fire always fire by reason of its characteristics of burning?

Agga. Nay, that which no longer burns is not a fire at all.

Tissa. I mean that both yesterday's fire and to-day's fire are characterised by identical qualities of heating (*teja*).

Agga. This is only bringing individuals under a general, class concept. You may define the universal term fire as that which burns and then show that every individual fire comes within your definition. Logical definition is a legitimate mode of mental procedure.

Tissa. For this reason I say that fire is a reality because it never gives up its characteristics of burning.

Agga. The real fire burns but the concept fire does not. In omitting to make the distinction between a reality and a concept, I am afraid, Tissa, that you lean to the views of the *Sabbathivādins*.

Tissa. Pray, what are the views of this sect?

Agga. They hold that all past, present and future things exist because they do not give up the characteristics of *khandhas* (aggregates). If their views be correct, every concept would be real like Plato's Ideas. I take it for granted that every student of philosophy understands what I mean by Plato's Ideas.

Tissa. Yes. Plato is a *niccavādin* who believes in the reality of his eternal and perfect ideas.

Agga. Space is an eternal idea of containing things. It always retains this feature. But you would not say that it is real for that reason. Again, time is always time and is never converted into space, but it is no more real than space is. Similarly with all other concepts. In fact, Platonic realism, which is really idealism or conceptualism or nominalism had been very ably refuted by the Elder Moggliputta Tissa. If you need the details of his argument, I must refer you to the *Sabbamatthivāda Kathā* in the *Kathāvatthu* (*Points of Controversy*).

According to the orthodox view, the real is ever confined to the present. Yesterday's fire was real only while it was burning; and tomorrow's fire will be real when it comes into being but not otherwise. In other words, the past fire which has burnt itself out is no longer real and the future fire which will burn is not yet real. Both the past and future things are at present but mere concepts, notions, ideas, mental views or aspects. I suppose you agree to this. Do you not?

Tissa. Yes, I do.

Agga. Then, Sumana will have to amend his definition of the real. Instead of defining it as that which is *existent*, it would be more accurate to define it as that which is *existing*.

Sumana. I have no objection to the proposed amendment. I acknowledge that the real is explained by a synonymous term *vijjamāna* which is generally rendered into Burmese by "existing".

Agga. Yes. This useful word is formed from root *vid*—'to know', the passive suffix *ya* and the present participial ending *māna*. It literally means 'being known' at the present moment. To be known is to be

evident and to be evident is to manifest. But a thing cannot manifest itself without a real being. Its intensive form *samvījjamāna* has been intentionally adopted to emphasise the fact that neither the past nor the future thing is real but that the real is confined to the present only. So far we all are agreed that one condition of reality is that it must be *existing*.

Tissa. Granted.

Agga. But our idea of reality is not yet complete. For eternalists may understand the term 'existing' as existing for ever without a change. The other test of reality is, therefore, that it is *in a continual flux*, while concepts are constant.

Tissa. Is it not the other way about? Silver, when manufactured into different articles receives several names of cup, bowl, plate and so on in turn while the metal silver remains the same. In this illustration the metal silver corresponds to the reality while the names 'cup', 'bowl', etc., are mere concepts. Hence concepts change from 'cup' to 'bowl' and from 'bowl' to 'plate', but the metal remains unchanged.

Agga. Even the name silver, nay, the name metal itself, is but a concept. But I will not mince matters. I understand you to mean the ultimate constituents of matter when you say silver or metal. But when you say 'cup', 'bowl', etc., I shall understand you to confine yourself to the names only.

Tissa. Yes, that is exactly what I mean.

Agga. Now, to regard the ultimate constituents or contents of a piece of metal called silver as constant is heresy due to hallucinations of perception, view or judgement; for, did not the Buddha say that all things in the making are in a state of flux?

There is also a fallacy in your argument that concept 'cup' changes to concept 'bowl' which in turn changes to 'plate'. A concept, once formed, is never lost. It becomes a universal term held in reserve for application to similar individual objects at any future time. This fallacy has been well exploded in the *Kathāvatthu*. Speaking of a certain white cloth which, say, is turned black, the heterodox opponent asked: Is the whiteness given up? The orthodox adherent answered it in the affirmative because white colour as a reality had been replaced by another reality, black colour. But when the question was: Is the *clothness* given up?, the orthodox answer was in the negative because "clothness" is a mere concept arising from a combination of single threads.

Tissa. I acknowledge that it is so.

Agga. Then, do you agree that for anything to be real the following two conditions must be satisfied?

- (a) That it must be *existing*; and
- (b) That it must be *in a flow*.

Tissa. Yes, I do.

Agga. In that case, reality may be defined as an existing condition of flux. Therefore, mind, mental properties, matter and Nibbāna, if allowed a real being, must satisfy the above definition. I mean that even

Nibbāna forms no exception. Otherwise it would not be real. You should be able to distinguish what I may call book-mind and lip-Nibbāna from real ones. The book-mind and the lip-Nibbāna are mere concepts which do not exist except in our minds and therefore do not have an independent flowing existence, actual change being the essential mark of distinction between a reality and a concept.

Sumana (interposed). But a sole reservation or exception has to be made in favour of Nibbāna which is permanent, abiding and enduring.

Agga. You are a dualist. That is to say, you start with an assumption that there are two radically different kinds of realities, conditioned and unconditioned.

Sumana. I beg your pardon, Sir. Mine is not an assumption at all. I have based my views on the clear dictum of the Buddha. He said in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* that 'there are two elements, conditioned and unconditioned. The marks of conditioned are three. Which three? Genesis is apparent; dissolution is apparent; a state of duration other than genesis and dissolution is also apparent. Similarly, the three marks of unconditioned are: genesis, dissolution and duration are not apparent.'

Agga. You seem to think that these marks stick to things like the outlines of an object. Yet they, like the outlines of an object, are mere appearances to the mind. The word 'apparent' is the crux of this passage. The Pali word is *paññāyati* from prefix *pa*, which is explained by *pakārena*—'in different aspects', and root *ñā*, 'to know'. It is quite legitimate for a monist to look upon the real as One, even as the truth is One, and to regard the Buddha as having spoken of it by the dual method from two view-points. To intellect from without the real appears in three different aspects. But to intuition from within these aspects *disappear* (*na-paññāyati*). What is relative and conditioned to intellect becomes absolute and unconditioned to intuition. Our intellect divides the stationary track left behind the flowing reality and divides the immobile time passed over by it into a 'powder of moments' which we name nascent or genetic, static or durative and cessant or arrested. But intuition which follows the continuous flow from within the simple, indivisible reality dispenses with these time concepts. Consider a wave motion. You think that each wave is succeeded by another after undergoing the threefold process of beginning, lasting and subsiding. But what is it that moves on and on? Physicists will say force or energy. Now, if this force or energy be endowed with consciousness, it would feel itself as onward motion at every moment without interruption. It would not feel itself as now beginning, next lasting and then subsiding. An outside observer draws an imaginary line of break between the subsidence of a previous phase and the rising of a succeeding one and in doing so, he practically considers motion between any two such breaks as rest. In your view intellect and intuition are assumed not to differ in kind but in degrees but conditioned and unconditioned are held as radically different, whereas in my view intellect and intuition are held to be

radically different as poles asunder but conditioned and unconditioned are treated as two different aspects of one reality.

Is it not, **Sumana**?

Sumana. Yes, Sir.

Agga. It is not an easy matter to decide which of these two views is correct, before we have a clear idea of what Nibbāna is. But so far we have cleared our way for discussion on Nibbāna. Now, Sumana, after all we have said on the distinction between a reality and a concept, do you still maintain that Nibbāna is nothing but calm.?

Sumana. I do.

Agga. Pray, analyse your idea of calm.

Sumana. By calm I mean freedom from trouble or evil.

Agga. Then, calm is synonymous with the extinction of Ill. But if you go a step further in your analysis, you will find that this Ill is reduced to suffering or pain caused by desire. Therefore, your calm is the extinction of the fires of this desire.

Sumana. I own it, since Sāriputta himself described Nibbāna as extinction of corruptions.

Agga. I suppose you refer to the *Zambukhādaka Sutta* where the Arahant described Nibbāna as extinction of lust, ill-will and ignorance.

Sumana. Yes, that is my authority.

Agga. Very well. If you read a little further on, you will find that Sāriputta who lived face to face, i. e., in direct contact, with Nibbāna described arahantship in identical terms. How now? Are the Nibbāna and the Arahantship the same or different?

Sumana. Whether the same or different, Sir, what is the use of your splitting hairs in this matter?

Agga. But is it not good to know their identity or difference, Sumana?

Sumana. Well, Sir—the view of the *vitāṇḍavādins* is that arahantship is so described because it comes into being after the extinction of corruptions. The consensus of opinion among the commentators, however, is that Nibbāna is so described because corruptions are extinguished by it.

Agga. Which of these two views do you prefer?

Sumana. Certainly the latter.

Agga. The *vitāṇḍavādins* say that the arahantship is the result of the extinction of corruptions in the Path-moment, while the commentators refer to the Nibbāna of the Path as the cause of the extinction of corruptions in arahantship; But what of the Nibbāna of arahantship?

Sumana. I am rather perplexed over this question of yours.

Agga. Well, I must refer you to your own authority. Sāriputta described this Nibbāna as extinction of corruptions. But he also described arahantship in identical terms. Now, when a sane person describes two things in identical terms, must we not assume that the two things are really one and the same?

Sumana. Nay, that cannot be. When I describe an ass and a horse as animals I do not necessarily mean that the ass is the same as the horse.

Agga. Of course not. In your example you are simply bringing two different individuals under a higher concept. But you will not admit that extinction of corruptions is a higher concept than Nibbāna.

Sumana. Assuredly not.

Agga. Sāriputta first described Nibbāna as extinction of corruptions. But Buddhaghosa¹ clearly said that, lest this description should mislead any one to regard it as *mere* extinction, Sāriputta again described the arahantship in the very same terms. It is, therefore, plain that he intended to show that the Nibbāna he described was not a lip-Nibbāna but a concrete real as distinguished from an abstraction. Hence the expressions, to wit, 'extinction of lust', 'extinction of ill-will', and 'extinction of nescience,' are but synonyms of the real Nibbāna. I mean they merely denote the three different aspects of one and the same reality.

Sumana. I am not quite convinced.

Agga. Now, does the expression, 'extinction of lust' include the extinction of ill-will and of ignorance, or does the expression 'extinction of ill-will' include the extinction of lust and ignorance, or does the expression 'extinction of ignorance' include the other two?

Sumana. Decidedly not.

Agga. Then, in your view, there would be a multiplicity of Nibbānas, whereas Nibbāna is an indivisible whole.

Sumana. But are there not a plurality of Nibbānas? There are four degrees of ariyanship. And since we are taught that a lower grade Ariyan does not know things of the higher grades, it follows that his Nibbāna is different from those of the higher.

Agga. I do not deny the plurality of Nibbānas for different individuals, aye, even for each individual at different times. What I do deny is the plurality of them for each individual *at any one time*.

Sumana. Then is not the extinction of lust Nibbāna?

Agga. Dhammapāla says that *mere* extinction is not Nibbāna.² If mere extinction of lust be Nibbāna, even lower animals would have to be considered as having attained Nibbāna on the subsidence of their sexual desire. Surely your Nibbāna is too crude to be described.

Sumana (curtly). I am not so vile as to identify Nibbāna with the temporary absence of lust in lower animals. I meant the eradication, extirpation, extermination or extinction of lust.

Agga. Softly, good Sumana. Be not angry with me for having put to you what Buddhaghosa himself as in the *Sammohavivodanī*, his commentary on the *Vibhaṅga*, would have asked his opponent worthy of his own steel. Philosophical discussion should not be a heated controversy, but it should be carried on in a cool and calm atmosphere.

¹ Yo kho āvuso rāgakkhayo 'ti ādivacanato khayō nibbānanti ce, na arahantassāpi khayamattāpajjanato; tañ pi hi yo kho āvuso rāgakkhayo 'ti ādinayena niddiṭṭhañ. *The Visuddhimagga*.

² Khayamattañ na Nibbānañ. *Saccasaṃkhepa*.

Sumana. Prithee, good Sir, do not mind my temper. I wish I had shown a good temper after losing a bad one.

Agga. You say you have meant the eradication of lust. You acknowledge, do you not, that there is such a thing as what Buddhists call 'adoptive intellect' (*gotrabhū-ñāṇa*) having Nibbāna for its object. Now we are told that corruptions neither had been eradicated before, nor are being eradicated at that moment. And if Nibbāna be extinction of corruptions, how can this intellect in question have the extinction of corruptions as its object before their eradication?

Sumana. Of course, Nibbāna at that moment exists only as an idea of the future extinction of corruptions in the mind of the 'adopted' person.

Agga. Then his is merely an idea-Nibbāna which is a concept.

Sumana. Nevertheless, Nibbāna, I mean the real Nibbāna, is the extinction of corruptions by the Path-intuition at the moment next after the 'adoptive' intellect.

Agga. Now, please to answer my questions carefully. Have corruptions already expired or are they being extinguished at that moment? Or are there any corruptions at that moment to be put away later?

Sumana. Well,—corruptions are undergoing the process of extinction at the moment of the Path-intuition.

Agga. How can the Path-intuition which, according to you, is in the act of extinguishing corruptions have the extinction of them as its object? The fact is Sumana, corruptions cannot co-exist with intuition, even as darkness cannot exist side by side with light.

Sumana. That is precisely what I meant. Just as light dispels darkness, so intuition removes corruptions.

Agga. You should not press this analogy too far. I will give you another illustration. If you cut down a tree from which fruits have been gathered, do you destroy the past year's fruits which have been long enjoyed or the present year's fruits which have been gathered or the future year's fruits which have as yet to be borne?

Sumana. I do not destroy any fruits at all but only the tree.

Agga. But the tree is the cause of future fruits. Therefore, intuition does not destroy the past or present corruptions but only the root-cause of future corruptions.

Sumana. That, I admit. This root-cause is desire (*taṇhā*) and if it be removed, its evil effects would be destroyed. Therefore, the extinction of desire is synonymous with that of evils.

Agga. A synonym is but a name.

Sumana. But it is the name of the real Nibbāna.

Agga. We have as yet to determine the nature of that reality, the several synonyms of Nibbāna merely expressing the various qualities of it.

Sumana. But is not a reality determined by its own qualities as a white paper is determined by its whiteness, etc.?

Agga. A quality is that which is abstracted by the mind from a reality, like whiteness mentally abstracted from paper.

Sumana. But whiteness is a colour which is a reality.

Agga. Yes, it is treated as a reality distinct from sound, etc., according to Buddhist analysis. But as whiteness cannot exist apart from paper or other like objects, analysis is merely logical. Hence I say your abstract qualities of Nibbāna cannot exist by themselves.

Sumana. But does not health exist in this world?

Agga. When a disease is cured, health ensues. But this health is not mere lip-health or paper health.

Sumana. Therefore I say that health is real.

Agga. You do not see my point, Sumana. Let me give you a very common illustration. When a sick child who dreads medicine tells his mother that he is well, his health is lip-health. Or again, when a physician tells his patient under treatment that he is alright, the patient's health is but lip-health in the mouth of the physician. There is a Burmese saying; 'According to the physician it matters not, only the patient cannot bear'. Health apart from sound body is therefore, merely an idea, notion or concept. To be real, it must be bound up with sound body. So any Nibbanic quality, say, your calm, to be real, must be bound up with sound *khandhas*. For this reason the author of the *Visuddhimaggaṭīkā* says; Nibbāna also is even again bound up with *khandhas*³.

Sumana. The expression 'bound up with body' (*kāyapaṭibaddha*) is applied to garments. Here garment is not body and body not garment. Hence Nibbāna cannot be *khandhas*.

Agga. You have missed the force of the prefix *paṭi*—'again' in the expression *paṭibaddha*. A garment is actually worn or can be reworn on body. Otherwise it would become a torn cloth. Just as body is indispensable to garment, so are *Khandhas* to Nibbāna. This view is confirmed by a Buddhist writer as follows:—

'Indeed, because Nibbāna is conceived in dependence upon *khandhas* it is made known even through our body'⁴.

Sumana. I cannot assent to your proposition. The expression 'bound up with *khandhas*' should be interpreted to mean 'spoken of in connection with *khandhas*', because we say that 'Nibbāna is a cessation of *khandhas*'.

Agga. Pardon me, friend, if I call this a piece of pure sophistry. Why? Because a worse quibble I have not heard.

If I were to say that disease is body-bound, you would admit that body co-exists with disease. But when I say that health is body-bound, you reply that health is merely spoken of in connection with body as though it were, in reality, the destruction of body itself.

Sumana. Did not Buddhaghosa, say: 'Matter and mind make up the five *khandhas* which constitute the reality of Ill; the previous desire

³ Nibbānampi *khandhapaṭibaddhameva*.

⁴ Nibbānampi hi *khandhe paṭicca paññāpanato sarīram yeva paññāpesi Sāratthadīpāni*.

which produces Ill is the reality of its root-cause; and the non-occurrence of both constitutes the reality of the cessation of Ill.'⁵

Agga. The crux of this passage lies in the expression 'previous desire'. Ill proper (*dukkha-dukkha*) is the sensation of pain (*dukkha-vedanā*) i. e., pain felt by sentient beings. There is no such thing as positive pleasure in this world. It is but the negation of pain as cold is the negation of heat in science. We call this relative pleasure 'pain reversed' (*vipariṇāma-dukkha*). Mental indifference to pain and pleasure is hedonic neutrality (*upekkhā-vedanā*). But just as there is heat in hot cold or lukewarm water, every feeling, bodily or mental, is reducible to pain. Matter cannot feel this pain. Moreover, it is neither good nor bad. Yet it is described as Ill in the universal proposition:—'All things in the making are ill.' This ill in matter is often called the evils of evolution (*saṅkhāra-dukkha*). But we agree with your master that they are described as ill because they are instrumental in giving pain to sentient beings who are still imbued with desire. One is pained when he does not get what he desires or gets what he does not desire. The word Ill in this connection is used in the sense of fearful or dangerous (*bhayaṭṭhena dukkhā*), as when we speak of a deadly or dangerous weapon. But they cause no harm to anyone where desire is not.

Sumana. What! Does not a dangerous weapon cause pain against the sufferer's desire?

Agga. But pain is caused by the desire on the part of a person who uses a dangerous weapon, just as barbarous Huns are instigated by desire to cause harm to humanity. Thus, whatever ill there is in this world is traced to this real culprit desire. Convict him by all means and you may even condemn the contaminated khandhas even as you would condemn a diseased tissue or body. But when the disease is cured, why condemn the sound body? Your condemnation of all *khandhas*, good or bad, reminds me of those erring *rishis* of old who detested body and mortified it or who detested mind and stifled it. Only, you are a degree worse than either because you combine the evils of both and seek your own annihilation.

Sumana. But is not your sane mind in sound body equally subject to change as unsound mind in diseased body?

Agga. Yes, it is.

Sumana. Then what is changeable is bad⁶ and is, therefore, a thing, to be got rid of.

Agga. I have already told you that Ill is due to desire. What is changeable would be bad when it is due to desire. But the change in itself being but a characteristic mark of all realities is not bad.

Sumana. I do not approve of your statement that change is not bad and your implication that Nibbāna is changing.

⁵ Rūpārūpaṃ pañcakkhandhaṃ; taṃ hoti dukkhasaccaṃ; taṃ samutthāpikā purimatanhā samudāyasaccaṃ; ubhinnaṃ apavatti nirodhasaccaṃ. *Sammohavinodanī*.

⁶ Yaṃ aniccaṃ taṃ dukkhaṃ.

Agga. Dead bodies do not move. Therefore, change is but the sign of health or life. Nibbāna is described as *amata* or *accuta* the deathless. The Pali *amata* corresponds to Sanscrit *amrita* or European word ambrosia, all of which mean 'deathless'. Hence all realities, including Nibbāna, are in a continual flux⁷.

If you look at this flow from outside, as we average people do with intellect, the change appears to be a succession of solidified or congealed states. But if you look into it, i. e., view it from within, as Ariyans do with intuition, the same change presents itself as a continuous motion as in the wave illustration which I adduced. For this reason, Buddhaghosa says: 'The one body of the Buddha is not subject to change'⁸.

You see from this quotation how radically different is intuition from intellect. What is regarded by intellect as changeful (*viparināma-dhamma*) is regarded by intuition as unchangeful (*aviparināma-dhamma*).

Similarly with other contrasts, such as, relative (*sapaccaya*) and absolute (*apaccaya*). In this way you should understand the words unborn (*ajāta*), unmade (*akata*), unmanifest (*abhūta*) and unconditioned (*asaṅkhata*) in the language of the *Udāna* from the inward point of view.

The monistic view which I now advocate has the advantage over the dualistic in that it is able to reconcile many apparent contradictions in scriptures without twisting the meanings of words. For example, all realities are, doubtless, caused. The denial of this fact would land us in the heresy of chance (*ahetuka-ditṭhi*). Therefore, Nibbāna is caused, but it may be said to be uncaused in so far as Ariyans are concerned because they do not consider the aspect of causation while intuiting Nibbāna. Again, for us who can only observe from without, Nibbāna must be present in time. And yet Ariyans intuit it as out of time (*kālavimutta*) because they simply abide in their own intuition (*pativijjha viharati*) without reference to time concepts.

Sumana. Do you mean to say that the same mind and body which are conditioned when observed from without become unconditioned when intuited from within?

Agga. In one sense, Yes. Because if you were a contemporary observer of an Arahant from outside, you would not be able to discriminate between his personality and those of non-Arahants. We hear of Arahants and non-Arahants being mistaken, one for the other. But the Arahant himself would see his personality from within as unconditioned. If you say he sees exactly as we do, you are simply transferring your frail mind to him.

In another sense, I would reply No. For if you were to follow the history of that individual Arahant, his previous conditioned personality could not possibly be identical with unconditioned personality after arahantship was attained, since at no two consecutive moments is any reality the same.

⁷ Nadi soto viya.

⁸ Eko Buddhassa rūpakāyo viparināmato natthi. *Visuddhimagga*.

Sumana. Then in your view, the world (*saṅkhāra*) would be Nibbāna.

Agga. What think you of the following passage?

‘A well-trained practitioner having a good view of the waxing and waning of conditioned things directly faces Nibbāna⁹.’

Sumana. Those who clearly see the growth and decay of conditioned reality attain to the second Insight called *Udayabbaya-ñāṇa* and this leads by successive insights to the Path-intuition which has Nibbāna for its object.

Agga. I agree. Those who attain the second Insight still discern the flowing process from outside and therefore see the reality as conditioned. This insight is often mistaken for intuition. The latter is a ‘good view’ of the same process of flowing from inside. Those who thus see the reality from within as unconditioned are in direct contact with Nibbāna. Thus a wrong view of the real gives rise to *Saṅkhāra*; a correct view (*Sammādiṭṭhi*), Nibbāna.

Sumana. I very much doubt the correctness of your interpretation.

Agga. Can mind attend to two objects at the same time?

Sumana. Doubtless not.

Agga. Then how can a practitioner have a good view of conditioned things and at the same time directly face the unconditioned, unless both conditioned and unconditioned are merged in one flowing reality? Therefore, what I do maintain is that conditioned or unconditioned reality is our own personality respectively with or without corruptions, the only differentia being the quality of the extinction of corruptions.

Sumana. How can personality be Nibbāna?

Agga. The Buddha said: ‘Even in this sentient, conscious body which is but a fathom in measure I declare this world, its cause, its cessation and the path thereto’¹⁰.

Here the reality is analysed into four different aspects. But it is plain that you should not look for Nibbāna outside your own system. It is not something already existing before you attain it.

Neither is it a locality which awaits your arrival as Nāgasena in *Milindapañhā* pointed out, by an example of fire produced by the friction of two pieces of wood, that there is no space in which Nibbāna that exists like a fire so produced is inherent (*nissitokāso* or *nikkhitokāso*). This fire example however clearly shows that there must be a *locus* when the fire is produced. And that locus for Nibbāna is no other than our own personality purged from corruptions.

Sumana. But did not the Buddha say that Nibbāna is external to us (*bahiddha-dhammo*).?

Agga. Ah! Yes, because it is now outside us who have not yet attained it.¹¹ But did not the Buddha himself equally say that the death-

⁹ *Sammā patipanno saṅkhārānaṃ udayabayaṃ sampassamāno nibbānaṃ sacchikaroti. Milindapañhā.*

¹⁰ *Imasmiṃ yeva kalevare byāmamatte samānake saviññānake lokañceva paññāpemi lokasamudayañceva lokanirodhañca lokanirodhagāminipadañca. Sagāthā-Vagga-Samyutta.*

¹¹ *Sabbasaṅkhārato bahibhūtaṃ nibbānaṃ. Uparipaññāsa tikkā.*

less element free from *upadhis* (of *kāma*, *kilesa*, *khandha* and *kamma*) is in direct contact with our own system?¹² Again in the *Canki Sutta* of the *Majjhima-panṇāsa* the Buddha said that one is in direct contact with Nibbāna at the same time he intuitively it.¹³ This passage alone is sufficient to prove that when one abides in an intuition (*paṭivijjha viharati* as Buddhaghosa said in the *Atthasālinī*), i. e., when one enters Nibbāna by penetrative wisdom, Nibbāna as an object of intuition can no longer be external to him who is within it. To a Nibbānic being there is no division as external or internal (*abheda*)¹. The dual classification, in fact all classification, is meant for us who have not yet attained intuition and therefore view realities from outside. Do you agree or do you not?

Nāna. I admit the absence of any distinction whatsoever in Nibbāna. But Nirodha is defined by Buddhaghosa in *Sammohavinodani* as that in which the rounds of evils (*rodha*) cease to exist.

Agga. Yes. But it clearly shows that Nibbāna or Nirodha is not mere cessation. It is the locus (not the locality)¹ where evils cease. And this locus is no other than personality purged from corruptions.

Sumana. How will you reconcile this view of yours with the usual explanation of the word cessation (*nirodha*) by 'not becoming' (*anuppādana*)?

Agga. From the tree illustration you will remember that the cessation is that of future corruptions. But it is not mere unbecoming of future corruptions, for there must be a locus in the form of our personality wherein future corruptions arise no more.

Sumana. I admit that what you have said about Nibbāna being our personality relates to the *Sa-upādisesa* Nibbāna. But I still maintain that there is no becoming whatsoever in the *An-upādisesa* Nibbāna where no residual stuff of life is said to remain.

Agga. All authorities are agreed that both forms of Nibbāna are but two aspects (*pariyāyas*), as they appear to us, of one real Nibbāna as it is lived by an Arahant. But let us try to clearly understand what is meant by *upādi*.

This word is often confused with *upadhi*. The latter is derived from *upa* and root *dhā*—'to bear, conduct or carry' and is applied to four things, namely, corruptions, sensual desires, aggregates (*khandhas*) and *kamma* as we have seen above. There are passages as in the *Mahāniddesa* in which Nibbāna is described as the locus in which all *upadhis* have been given up¹⁴. In the *Sagāthāvagga Saṃyutta* the Brahmana who has attained Nibbāna is described as a *nirupadhi*.¹⁵ So also in *Majjhima-panṇāsa*.¹⁶

¹² Kāyena amatañ dhātum phusitvā nirupadhiñ. *Itivuttika*.

¹³ Kāyena c'eva paramaṃ saccañ sacchikaroti paññāya ca tañ paṭivijjha passati. *Majjhima-panṇāsa*.

¹⁴ Sabbupadhinisaggo.....nibbānañ.

¹⁵ Brahmano parinibbūto.....nirupadhi.

¹⁶ Sītibhūtañ nirupadhiñ.....dhīrañ, tañ brūmi brahmaṇaṃ.

As upadhi includes khandhas an arahant who is a nuripadhi must be free from unsound khandhas.

Sumana. I beg your pardon. The word *upadhi* in 'nirupadhi' as applied to an arahant must be confined to *kilesupadhi*. Or if you want to extend it to *khandhupadhi* also, you may do so only by anticipation i. e. you call an arahant a nirupadhi by anticipation since he is sure to give up the upadhi of khandhas soon on attainment of the Anupādisesa Nibbāna.

Agga. Let that be for a moment. But upādi is derived from *upa* and the verb *ādiyati*—'to be grasped' and means the five khandhas grasped at by four upādānas.¹⁷ Now there is a school of thought in Burma which holds that our khandhas are upādānakkhandhas with reference to us mortals who are not yet free from upādāna but they are mere khandhas with reference to the Buddha and Arahants who are free. According to this school the same set of khandhas appear differently to the two sets of viewers. But the orthodox view according to the *Dhamma-saṅgaṇī* is that the wordly mind and material body alone are upādāniya and the transcendent, spiritual consciousness which is beyond the reach of upādānas is anupādāniya. If the upādāniya corresponds to the upādānakkhandhas, as held by your master, it follows that the anupādāniya, namely the transcendent consciousness, obtains in the Anupādisesa Nibbāna.

And yet ninety-nine *per cent.* of Burman Buddhists, however, understand this word upādi to mean all kinds of *khandhas*. But let us hear Buddhaghosa who writes:—

'The *Anupādisesa* Nibbāna is so-called because of the non-becoming of the five khandhas which have been 'grasped at' as effects by the *kamma* attended by desire, pride and error'¹⁸.

It is therefore, clear that only the *upādinnaka khandhas* cease to exist in the *Anupādisesa* Nibbāna. Transcendental consciousness (*lokuttara-citta*), not being born of such a *kamma*, cannot be said to be *upādinnaka*. Hence we may conclude that the *anupādinnaka khandhas*, to wit, the fruitional consciousness of arahantship obtains in the *Anupādisesa* Nibbāna as in the *Saupādisesa*.

Hence Buddhaghosa's dictum that by Nibbāna is meant the fruitional consciousness of an Arahant.¹⁹

Sumana. Against Buddhaghosa we may oppose the Buddha himself who said:—

'Here, i. e. in this Nibbāna, both mind and matter cease without a residuum'²⁰.

Agga. You read the Buddha's word literally. But Buddhaghosa knew better than you or I how to interpret the Buddha's language and thought correctly. If you cannot reconcile the two, you have only your-

¹⁷ Catūhi upādānehi upādiyati upādi, pañcupādānakkhandhā. *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-tika*.

¹⁸ Upādinnakānaṃ pañcannaṃ khandhānaṃ apavattivasena anupādisesanibbānaṃ kathi-taṃ. *Commentary on Sāgāthāvagga Saṃyutta*.

¹⁹ Idha (nibbānaṃ) arahattaphalaṃ adhippetāṃ tampi hi.....nibbānaṃ ti. *Khuddaka-Pāṭha-atthakatha*.

²⁰ Ettha rūpaṇa nāmaṇa asesāṃ uparujjhanti. *Dīgha Nikāya*.

self to blame. The trend of your argument reminds me of the recent controversy on the subject of water elephant. Suppose a naturalist were to tell you that there is no elephant in water and suppose that his pupil tells you that by elephant his master meant land elephant, would you be justified in your conclusion that there is no water elephant?

Sumana. Assuredly not.

Agga. Then why conclude that there are no *anupādiṇṇaka khandhas* in Nibbāna when Buddhaghosa tells us that by mind and matter in this connection the Buddha meant the *upādiṇṇaka khandhas*? Many persons who have never even dreamt of the existence of water elephants deny their existence. A few persons possess dried specimens of this miniature water creature which, in all its appearances, is a quadruped with well formed tusks and trunk. The former distrust their senses and cry 'A faked one!'. On examining the anatomy of this little animal under a microscope, it is found to be a true structure even as specimens of paleontological flora and fauna preserved in rocks and earth. Would you still doubt the existence of this genus of the little animal?

Sumana. Certainly not. But it cannot be the same kind of elephant which we know on land.

Agga. Quite so. In the same way the *anupādiṇṇaka khandhas* cannot possibly be the same as the *upādiṇṇakas*.

Sumana. If the *anupādiṇṇaka khandhas* obtain in Nibbāna, why did some authorities speak of the complete cessation of *khandhas* (Khandha-parinibbāna) at Kusināra?

Agga. If Buddhaghosa's interpretation of the Buddha's word be correct only the *upādiṇṇaka khandhas* cease on finally passing away from the world. Just as an event which we call death (*sammuti-maraṇa*) does not interrupt the natural flow of the reality of life in this world, so the final death (*pacchima-cuti*) of an Arahant does not interrupt the flow of the reality of Nibbāna from the *Saupādisesa* to the *Anupādisesa* form.

Sumana. Then you mean that the fruitional consciousness of an Arahant survives after finally passing away from this world?

Agga. Yes. It is the survival of the fittest flowing on and on without interruption, any break in its continuity being but an invention of our intellect.

Sumana. In that case this surviving consciousness would be *Nāma*.

Agga. Yes. Buddhaghosa says: *Nāmadhammas* include four mental khandhas as well as Nibbāna.²¹

Sumana. Is it not that four immaterial khandhas are called *Nāma* because it bends (*nāmeti*) the mind to it and that Nibbāna is also called *Nāma* because (spiritual) mind tends (*namiyati*) to it.

Agga. This grammatical distinction is due to your view of the mind as subject and of Nibbāna as object. But the latter cannot be an object without a subject. The fact is that the subject and the object are

²¹ *Nāmadhammāti cattāro arūpino khandhā ca nibbānañca. Commentary on Mūla-Ya-maka.*

merged in an intuition. This follows from Buddhaghosa's dictum that Nibbāna is the fruitional consciousness itself. Nibbāna is not *thought* but *lived*. Else Nibbāna would be merely lip-bliss.

Sumana. Am I to understand you to say that individuals exist in Nibbāna.?

Agga. It all depends upon what you mean by 'individual'. If you mean a soul in the sense in which it is generally understood in the West, I would reply No, because the ego idea is but a concept. But if you use the word as a mere label for realities, I would say Yes. Sāriputta was a distinct individual from Moggallāna on this side of the veil. Why should not their continuations be individually distinct on the other side?

Each lives his own Nibbāna.²² But it does not follow that they draw a line of demarcation between *meum* and *tuum* on the other side any more than they do on this side.

Sumana. I cannot agree to individual existence in Nibbāna.

Agga. Sumana, you are a good controversialist. What do you make of the orthodox question whether the *Khandhas* are one thing, Nibbāna another and the soul a third; and the heterodox negative reply in *Kathāvattu*?

Sumana. I return your compliments. We must go a little way back in order to understand the controverted point.

Agga. Right.

Sumana. The believer in the soul committed himself to an opinion that the soul is neither conditioned nor unconditioned. The orthodox adherent pointed out that the Buddha taught only two things—conditioned and unconditioned—but not a third.

Agga. I would say two aspects instead of two things. But be pleased to proceed with your own explanation.

Sumana. Then the orthodox questioned whether *khandhas* are conditioned and Nibbāna unconditioned. The heterodox reply was in the affirmative. Finally, the question you have referred to was put. And the opponent was cornered and obliged to negative his position that the soul is a third class of things neither conditioned nor unconditioned since it is but a metaphysical abstraction not having a distinct, independent existence like realities mentioned. He thereby confirms the distinction between conditioned *khandhas* and unconditioned Nibbāna.

Agga. A very plausible explanation. But the final question and answer on analysis resolve themselves into:—

Are *Khandhas* and Nibbāna different? No.

Are *Khandhas* and soul different? No.

Are Nibbāna and soul different? No.

You would like to answer the first of these sub-questions in the affirmative because of your conviction that *Khandhas* and Nibbāna are radically different. But you are called in not to alter the form of the answer but only to interpret it. As the soul is but a metaphysical abstraction as

²² Paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi.

you have pointed out, there are only two terms left to be compared. And their difference is negated because a conditioned and unconditioned are but two aspects of one and the same reality.

Sumana. I cannot accept your explanation.

Agga. What think you of another conversation between the orthodox and his opponent relating to the existence or non-existence of an individual in Nibbāna? When asked whether persons (*puggalas*) who have attained Nibbāna exist therein or not, the first heterodox reply was in the affirmative. But when pressed with the further question whether such a person is a permanent soul, the reply was in the negative. Then the opponent shifted his ground and changed his first affirmative answer to negative. But when again pressed with the question whether such a person was annihilated, he was equally compelled to negate annihilation.

Sumana. The opponent was on the horns of dilemma because of his belief in the soul which is really non-existent.

Agga. The dilemma is quite independent of the question of soul. If you believe that realities are perduring or abiding without change, you would equally commit yourself to the heresy of eternalism. If, on the other hand, you say that they are annihilated, you would equally adopt the opposite heresy of annihilation. To escape the horns you must say that realities are in a continuous flow.

Sumana. In the case of realities not surviving the final death, there can be no question of these two heresies because it is only in respect to the soul (*atta*)¹ that these heresies obtain.

Agga. But how can a person who believes in the theory of immortal soul possibly commit himself again to the opposite theory of its annihilation? By *atta* is meant permanent self corresponding to the immortal soul of Europeans. Therefore in our view the *attavāda* is identical with the *sassata-ditṭhi* to which is opposed the *uccheda-ditṭhi*. Hence the latter view is impossible in respect to *atta*.

Again if your views be correct, the opponent having answered that a permanent soul does not exist in Nibbāna, there would be no necessity on the part of the orthodox for the further question whether such a non-existent soul is annihilated.

Sumana. I forgot. The second question in the *Kathāvatthu*, viz., Is a person who has attained Nibbāna annihilated?, was asked by the heterodox believer in the theory of immortal soul.

Agga. Admitting for argument sake that it was the heterodox question, the orthodox negative reply would rather confirm the view that such a person is not annihilated.

Sumana. The orthodox negated the annihilation of a person because 'person' does not exist at all, except as a concept, to be annihilated.

Agga. Plausible. But for reasons already given, that is not the traditional view. According to able translators of Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, both questions were asked by the

orthodox; and they are logical, for when the heterodox replied that the Nibbānic being is not immortal, it was perfectly legitimate for the orthodox to press his opponent with the further question as to annihilation, as explained by me above.

Sumana. Let that be. But the answers of the opponent are not of much value.

Agga. Then let us reverse the position by attending to the Buddha's own answers to King Kosala's questions in the *Samyutta* respecting the existence of individual beings in Nibbāna.

The first pair of his answers was: 'Neither do I declare that such a being is existent nor do I declare that he is non-existent.' The Buddha indulged in this apparent paradox in order to avoid the two extreme views of eternalism and annihilation. But if there were no such a being at all in Nibbāna, what necessity was there for the Buddha to re-affirm his existence?

Sumana. But did not the Buddha tell the King that such a Nibbānic being is altogether freed from mind and body?

Agga. Assuredly not. He said that such a being is free or freed from concepts of mind and matter (*rūpasāṅkhā-vimutto . . . viññāṇasaṅkhā-vimutto*) instead of saying free from mind and matter (*rūpa-vimutto . . . viññāṇa-vimutto*). He further told the King that such a Nibbānic being is deep like an ocean and is difficult to understand. But this remark is intended for all who cannot avoid concepts. The author of the *Netti* used the word *saṅkhaye* (in extinction) instead of *saṅkhā* (from concepts). This makes all the difference in the world. He regards the Nibbānic being as free in the extinction of colour, sound, odour, taste, touch and knowability (*rūpasāṅkhaye vimutto . . . dhammasāṅkhaye vimutto*). In this view the Nibbānic being is a colourless, soundless, odourless, tasteless, intangible and unknowable being. How can Nibbāna which is included in the cognizable objects (*dhammāyatana*) be realised in the extinction of *dhammārammaṇas*? Free from what? If you take Nibbāna as an object of transcendental consciousness, it would be a manifest contradiction to say that it is extinct as such. But if you take it to be a subject identical with the fruitional consciousness of an Arahant, how can it subsist without an object? I have more than once repeated that the subject and the object are merged in one reality, Nibbāna, which is simply *lived* without a thought of any of its aspects which would strike an outside observer.

Sumana. I understand you to hold that the mental *khandhas* obtain in Nibbāna. But did not some writers say that it is emancipated from *khandhas* (*khandha-nissāṭo*)?

Agga. The *Compendium* has *khandha-saṅgaha-nissāṭa*, literally 'Freed from the reckoning of *khandhas*'. You should understand it in the sense of freedom from the *upādiṇṇaka-khandhas* or in that of freedom from concepts of *khandhas*.

Sumana. But did not the Buddha say in the *Udāna* that there is no earth, no water, no fire, no air, no sun, no moon, etc., in Nibbāna?

Agga. Yes, because there are no concepts of all these objects to a Nibbānic being.

Sumana. Will you now summarise your position?

Agga. The Nibbāna of a being is his own mind purged from corruptions. It forms no exception to the law of reality. That is, it is a continuous flowing existence. Though the Nibbāna of yesterday is not that of to-day, Nibbāna is spoken of as permanent (*i. e. sassata or dhuva*) in the sense that once attained it never reverts to a worldly state. These two words are not to be understood in the sense in which they are used by the heterodox believers to designate a permanent abiding soul. They must be understood rather in the sense in which modern statesmen use the word 'permanent' when they speak of permanent peace as one that will never be again disturbed by a state of war.

Sumana. Granted that there is such a purified spiritual mind in Nibbāna. Would you allow the existence of body also therein?

Agga. We know that transcendental consciousness is always associated with body. But we are taught to believe also that mind can exist independently of body in the *Arūpa* world and that the arahant exists also in that world. It is difficult to decide whether the Arahants develop their spiritual bodies as well as on the other side of the veil. The author of the *Anuṭṭikā* says that Nibbāna is something like subtle matter.²³ Whether he refers to the spiritual substance of mind or body is not clear. At this stage of our discussion I would hand over the argument to my friend from Henzada as his master held that there is unique body as well in Nibbāna.

Teja. Yes, my master cited the *Sutta of the Tīloka-Cakravatti* in support of his contention. The Buddha told us that when he was that universal monarch he built mansions and invited the previous Buddhas and Arahants from Nibbāna and that their doubles (*nimmita-rūpas*) came.

Sumana. How do you know that these were not the mental creations of the King himself?

Teja. Because they are said to have conversed on philosophy (*abhidhammā*) which the King at that time did not understand. If they were his own creations, they would not be able to go beyond his mind. That is, he could not possibly suggest philosophical ideas which were not in his mind. Hence we must assume that the real Buddhas and Arahants who were ever living their own flowing Nibbānas, created their own doubles just as the Buddha himself in his lifetime in this world is said to have created a double for preaching philosophy to the gods in the *Tāvātimsa* heaven during his temporary absence on earth.

Sumana. Supposing they were living as pure spiritual minds, could they not materialise bodies for such occasions?

Teja. Possible.

Sumana. There is some difficulty in the supposition that Nibbānic beings ever associate themselves with the concerns of this world. U Agga

²³ Nibbānaṃ pana sukhuma-rūpa-gatikam.

has told us that a Nibbānic being consists of the fruitional consciousness of the highest Ariyanship solely occupied with its own tranquillity, calm or peace as its object. How would it be possible for such a self-absorbed being to hear the appeals of Tiloka from this earth?. Or if he be supposed to be endowed with supernormal powers to know the wishes of worldly people, as by telepathy, his Nibbānic flow would be interrupted.

Teja. The time of such interruption would be so short as to be negligible. In any case such interruption, if any, would be no more than that of the Saupādisesa by *Kiriya-cittas*, (non-effective thoughts).

Agga. Even assuming that a Nibbānic being cannot or will not think of this world, it does not invalidate my argument for spiritual existence in Nibbāna.

Tissa. I have taken very little active part in this lively discussion. But methinks the moon-lit hills of Sagaing are illumined with greater radiance and lustre to-night even as the beauty and brilliancy of the moon-lit groves of Gosing was enhanced by the righteous discourse on philosophy between the Great Moggalāna and another.

Teja. I have also been, more or less, a listener. These hills, secluded from the noisy bustle of the world, seem to me to resound with a sweet resonance which will produce reverberating echoes throughout the length and breadth of the country, aye, the whole of the Buddhist world.

Agga. It augurs well that both of you appreciate our friendly exchange of views and I have no misgivings that something good will come of our meeting on this auspicious occasion. Sumana, I am very pleased to have an opportunity of discussing with you the question of questions. A problem, rationally approached, is on its fair way to proper solution. I trust that you will bear the message of Nibbāna to the world. Brethren, the night has far advanced and it is time for us to retire. Good night to all.

SHWE ZAN AUNG.

SHIN UTTAMAGYAW AND HIS TAWLA, A NATURE POEM—V.

The opening lines of the fifth verse explain in what manner *Indra* with the *Devas* and the *Brahmas* of the celestial world, and the *Asûras* of the lower regions, adore *Sakyamuni*, the most excellent Lord of the threefold world. But what is most striking and characteristic is that which follows. Various celestial orbs shine brightly in the vault of heaven paying due reverence to the self-same Superman.

First of all, mention is made of the eight planets in their proper order. Then comes a list of some of the lunar asterisms, that is the *Nakshatras*. These are at first shown as shooting out rays of light in different degrees of brilliancy round the moon. Next they are presented in groups of three each in their serial order beginning from the first. These groups are arranged in the order in which each moves in company with one of the constellations beginning with the *crow*. To each group is also attached a symbol indicative of the influence which it has upon the affairs of mankind.

Here the theme changes. The pictorial scenes in the forest tracts through which Lord Buddha proceeds to *Kapilavatthu* are described, and the description given is charming and inspiring. The sylvan boughs fanned by gentle winds and wearing variegated hues of gold, silver and emerald, appear so picturesque that at every gaze the eye is met by an enchanting sight. Thus the heart is gladdened and filled with longing. The red blooms of the *butea* look almost like heaps of fire. The river with serene glistening water winds its course along pleasant sandy banks, while birds in flocks sing with a sweet melody. The atmosphere though somewhat hazy is charged with scent. Throughout the scenery is such as to inspire an indefinable longing. In the azure sky *Phœbus* is seen in the company of the shining *Pyuppâbadrapaik*.

The last scene shows that it was in *Tabaung* (March-April) that the journey was undertaken by the holy Sage, for the sun in that season always goes side by side with the said *Nakshatra*. It indicates also that it is at this juncture that the whole asterisms shining in full lustre bow respectfully before the Lord of the universe.

In passing, it is of interest to note that a greater portion of the present verse has found its way into the famous "*Baravi Hmarwgun*"—a poem which treats of some astronomical facts. Its author was a renowned eighteenth century writer who flourished during the three successive *régimes* of *Alaungpaya's* dynasty. He rose to eminence during the reign of King *Bodawpaya* who bestowed on him the title of *Nawade*. As another distinguished writer of the same name lived before him he is generally known as the second *Nawade*. He wrote several *Hmarwguns*, *Ratus*, and *Pyos*, among which the "*Baravi*" and the "*Lokavidu*" *Hmarwguns*, are best known, and are considered masterpieces by the literary men of the present day. This plagiarism by such an eminent

writer as *Nawade* would go far to prove that Shin Uttamagyaw's Tawla is not a common poem but that it occupies a very high position in our poetical literature.

Some entire passages from Verse III of the same poem have also been extracted by another well known writer, namely Pothudaw U Min, who was the contemporary of the said Nawade. U Min employs them as his own in one of his *Legyos* on the Seasons, which begins with “အထုံသာလျောက်တော့တယ်။ ငုံ့ပေါက်ကယ်လှိုင်းလဲနှင့်။” and ends with ကြာညောင်စံမြေမအေးနိုင်နှင့်။ ဆွေးလိမ့်မယ်ချ။ This is also an acknowledgement on the part of U Min that Shin Uttamagyaw's Tawla is superior to all the other poems on similar subjects in elegance of style as well as in loftiness of sentiment.

To return to the present Verse. The opening passage အနတ္တရ။ တိလောကဟု။………………ပူဇော်ကြ၏။ refers to the inhabitants of all the celestial worlds and the *Asīras* who have come to pay respect to Buddha with various kinds of offerings.

အနတ္တရ။ တိလောကဟု means “One who is known as the supreme Being in the three worlds. အနတ္တရ (Pāli) means “unrivalled, incomparable, supreme.” တိလောက is a Pāli compound of တိ (three) and လောက (world). The term here applies to the three subdivisions of the world of sentient Beings. They are Kāmaloka, Rūpaloka, and Arūpaloka, that is the world of sense, of form and of formless forms. The first consists of the six Devalokas (the world of Nats), Manussaloka (the world of men), Asūraloka (the world of Asūras), Petaloka (the world of Pretas), Tiracchānaloka (the animal kingdom) and Niriya (hell). The second consists of 16 heavens inhabited by Brahmas, and the third of four heavens peopled by formless or incorporeal Brahmas. As a matter of fact there are altogether 31 subdivisions of the world of sentient Beings.

သက္ကမုနိန် stands for သက္ကမုနိ and is an epithet of Gotama Buddha. It means “the holy Sage belonging to the Sakya race.” သက္က is the name of a race from which Gotama Buddha was descended. မုနိန် stands for the Pāli မုနိ and means “sage or holy ascetic.” Gotama Buddha is sometimes called သက္ကပုတ္တ son of the house of Sakya.

မာရဇိန် (Pāli မာရဇိန) literally means “conqueror of Mara.” It is another epithet of Buddha.

ဣန္ဒြီ (Indra) and သက္က (Sakra) both mean “the chief of the *devas*.”

သုရ stands for အသုရ and means “the fallen *devas*.”

ထက်သန်စေတနာ means “with best intention or good will.” စေတနာ (Pāli) means “intention, sense, thought.”

ကြက်လျှာတံခွန် means “a paper streamer shaped like a fowl's tongue.”

ပူဇော် means “to make an offering.”

The next passage အာကာသပြင်၊ ထက်ကောင်းကင်ဝယ်၊………………မြိတ်ရှင်မြှာနှင့်။ simply mentions the names of the eight planets' appearance in the sky.

အာကာသပြင်၊ ထက်ကောင်းကင်ဝယ်။ This simply means “in the sky or heaven above.”

ဗဟိရိ stands for the Pāli ဗဟိရေ which means “light-giving.” It is an epithet of the sun. ရိ (Pāli) also means the sun. ရိ (or more properly သုရဇ္ဇ), ဓန (or ဓနရ), ဘောဓ, ဗုဒ္ဓါ or ဗုဒ္ဓ, ဂရု, ဘရု, and သောရာ or သောရီ, are

astrological Pâli names for the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter Venus and Saturn respectively. The Burmese names for these planets are: တနင်္ဂနွေဂြိုဟ်၊ တနင်္လာဂြိုဟ်၊ အင်္ဂါဂြိုဟ်၊ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးဂြိုဟ်၊ ကြာသပတေးဂြိုဟ်၊ သောကြာဂြိုဟ် and စနေဂြိုဟ်။

ဂုဏ် in ဆရာဂုဏ် is a Pâli word meaning "a teacher;" hence the term ဆရာဂုဏ်။ Here it refers to Jupiter.

ဒေဝါသုရိန္ဒာ။ ဘူမိန္ဒရာ။ This is the eighth planet known in astrology as *Rahu* (ရာဟုဂြိုဟ်). The regent of this planet which is a dark one is said to be an Asûra who is supposed to cause eclipse by taking the sun and the moon into his mouth. It is also called အသုရိန္ဒာ in Burmese. Hence the term ဒေဝါသုရိန္ဒာ။ The Pâli term for it is Asûrindo (အသုရိန္ဒော) which means "chief of the Asûras." ဘူမိန္ဒရာ also means "a chief or king."

ဂြိုဟ်ရှစ်ဂြိုဟ် means the eight planets.

ဂြိုဟ် is derived from the Pâli ဝဟ which means "a planet."

အသာယုဇ္ဈာ။ ရောင်စုံဖြာသည်။ This passage simply gives a list of some of the Nakshatras shining round the moon.

အသာယုဇ္ဈာ or အသာယုဇ္ဈာ is another name for the Nakshatra အသဝဏီ (Asavani) which comes first in the arrangement of the twenty seven lunar asterisms. The month of *Thadingyut* is also called အသာယုဇ္ဈာလ။

ကြယ်ပုဏ္ဏားတို့ means "the full-orbed stars," that is the Nakshatras.

ယဉ်သာတုံပုံ။ ယုန်ဗိမာန်ကို refers to the moon.

သဒ္ဓါဆွတ်ဆွတ်။ နဂါးမြူး၍။ The allusion is to the group of the first three Nakshatras, namely Asavani, Barani and Kyattikâ which is followed by the constellation known as the crow and the prognostic sign or symbol for that group. These luminaries appear with the full moon in the months of *Thadingyut* and *Tazaungman*.

မြင်းခေါင်း means "a pony's head." But here it refers to the Nakshatra Asavani (အသဝဏီ). It is so called because the situation of the six stars of which it consists looks like a pony's head.

ခုံလောက် means "the three supports of a cooking pot." It refers to the second Nakshatra Barani (ဘရင်္ဂါ) which consists of three stars so situated as to give the appearance of the three stones supporting a cooking pot.

ပုံဆောင်ခိုင်းဘွယ်။ The literal meaning of this would be that "the form of construction may be compared to—" That is from their situation the stars are like the forms or figures mentioned.

ကြက်သူငယ်စု means "a brood of chickens." This represents Kyattikâ (ကျတ္တိကာ) which consists of seven stars appearing like a brood of chickens.

ကြယ်သုံးခုလျှင် This refers to Asavani, Barani and Kyattikâ noticed above.

ရုပ်တူညီစွာ means "the images are in perfect accord with or very similar to the above-mentioned three Nakshatras which they represent."

နဂါးမြူး၍။ This literally means "the dragon leaps with excitement or with feelings of pleasure." The dragon here is the prognostic sign or symbol for the group of the three Nakshatras referred to above.

ထွန်းရှူးတိုက်ဆိုက်။ ဂုဏ်ရည်သစ်စွာ။ This refers to the second group of the next three Nakshatras, namely Rohani, Migasi and Bhadra and its attendant constellation known as the Sheldrake. The prognostic sign is

the male elephant in must and full of dignity. This group appears with the full moon in the month of Nadaw.

ကြက်တိုက်လည်းကောင်း။ This refers to ကြက်တိုက်ကြယ် (cock-fighting star). It is otherwise called Rohani (ရောဟဏီ). It consists of ten stars.

ကြယ်အုပ်ဆောင်းလည်း။ This refers to Migasi (မိဂဒီ) the fifth Nakshatra. It is a cluster of four stars which appears like a conical cover.

လိပ်ခေါင်းလက်ဖျား။ This refers to the sixth Nakshatra Bhadra (ဘဒြ). It consists of eight stars which look like a tortoise.

တယ်နားသား means "the sheldrake is resting." This alludes to the constellation known by that name.

မပါကသား means "the male elephant." But here it refers to the prognostic sign or symbol for the second group of three Nakshatras described above.

မုန်အစ်။ ဂုဏ်ရည်သစ်စွ means "to be in must and to be full of dignity." မုန် means "an elephant's must." အစ် means "to squeeze."

ခုနစ်ဖုသျှ။ သင်္ဘောစုထက်။ ခြင်္သေ့ထိုင်သည်။ The allusion is to the third group consisting of the next three Nakshatras, namely Punnaphusshu, Phussha and Assalissa. This trio is followed by the constellation known as the crab. The lion is the symbol representing the influence possessed by this conjunction which takes place on the full moon night of the month of Pyatho.

ခုနစ်ဖုသျှ means "the seventh Nakshatra Punnaphusshu."

သင်္ဘောစု stands for the same asterism Punnaphusshu. It consists of ten stars forming the figure of a ship.

ရှစ်ရိုးငှက်။ ကိုးလုံးလွန်သော်။ This refers to Phussha (ဖုသျှ) and Assalissa (အသလိသ), the eighth and the ninth Nakshatras.

ဗုဒ္ဓရင်ဆိုင်။ ခြင်္သေ့ထိုင်သည်။ This means "the lion sits abreast of the crab." The reference here is to the constellation the crab and to the prognostic sign the lion.

ဆယ်ပြိုင်ဆယ်တစ်။ ချိန်တာရာလည်း။ This passage means that the tenth, eleventh and the twelfth Nakshatras coming one after another in company with the constellation known as the balance (Libra) put forth their brilliant lustre while the Karawika bird crows nodding its head.

ဆယ်ပြိုင်ဆယ်တစ်။ ဆယ်နှစ်ရွှေ့နောက်။ This refers to Magha (မာဃ), Pyubbâparagunni (ပြုဗ္ဗပရဂုဏီ) and Uttarâparagunni (ဥတ္တရပရဂုဏီ), the tenth, eleventh and the twelfth Nakshatras forming the fourth group. This group appears with the full moon in the months of Tabodwè and Tabaung.

လျှံတောက်ရှုန်းဘိတ် means "to shine brilliantly."

ဦးလည်ညှိတ်သား means "to nod the head."

ကရဝိတ် (Pâli ကရဝိက) is the Burmese name for the Indian cuckoo. This bird is also known among the Burmese as ကရဝိတ် ငှက်မင်း (King of the birds) and is famous for its melodious note. Here it is emblematical of the influence of the fourth group.

ကြယ်အာဒိတ။ ဟဿဒနှင့် တန်းခိုးလွင်လျက်။ This alludes to the fifth group consisting of Hassada, Cittra and Swâdi and the attendant constellation known as the Hair-pin. The prognostic signs in this case are the power-

ful Yakkha and Kumbhaṇḍa ogres. These Nakshatras followed by the Hair-pin appear with the full moon in Tagu.

ကြယ်အာဒိစ means "the first star," and it refers to the Nakshatra Hassada because the fifth group begins with this luminary. အာဒိ (Pâli) means "beginning," and စ also means "to begin."

စိတြိမုနိ means "the sage Citra."

ချက်ဘွေ means "among." ဟဿဒနှင့်၊ စိတြိမုနိ၊ သွာဒိချက်ဘွေ၊ ဆန်းကျင်ရွှေဝယ် therefore means "among the Nakshatras Hassada, Citra and Swâdi and the golden Hair-pin."

ကုဝေရက္ခ၊ ကုမ္ဘလုနှင့်။ This refers to the superhuman beings or ogres which are the prognostic signs for the fifth group. (As for the meaning of the terms ကုဝေရ, ယက္ခ and ကုမ္ဘလု see notes on Verse III)!

ဘုမ္မဗြဟ္မဗြင်း၊ တန်ခိုးလွှင့်လျက် means "to cause power or glory to be felt on earth." ဘုမ္မ (Pâli) means "terrestrial."

ဝိတ်လင့်ပတ်ဖြာ။ ဇေဋ္ဌရွှေ၏။ This means "while the Nakshatras Visakhâ and Anurâdha are following their circular courses Jettha moves before them." This passage simply refers to the sixth group consisting of the three Nakshatras just mentioned. They are followed by the constellation called the fisher-man. But here no mention is made either of this and the remaining three other constellations or the remaining three groups of Nakshatras.

A complete list of the 27 Nakshatras in nine group of three each in the serial order in which each group is followed by one of the nine constellations with a prognostic sign or symbol for each group and showing the months in which they appear with the full moon is given below for easy reference.

Serial order of the groups.	Names of the Nakshatras.	Name of the constellations.	Prognostic signs or symbols for the groups.	Names of the months in which the groups appear with the full moon.
1st ..	Assavani Barani Kyattikâ	The Crow	The dragon	Thadingyut and Tazaungmôn.
2nd ..	Rohani Migasi Bhadra	The Sheldrake	The male elephant	Nadaw.
3rd ..	Punnaphusshu Phussha Assalissa	The Crab	The lion	Pyatho.
4th ..	Mâgha Pyubbapara- gunni Uttarapara- gunni	The Balance	The Karawika bird	Tabodwè.
5th ..	Hassada Citra Swâdi	The hairpin	The ogres	Tagu.

List of the 27 Nakshatras—Continued.

6th	..	Visākha Anurāda Jetha	The fisherman	The hermit	Kasòn and Nayòn.
7th	..	Mūla Pruppasan Uttarāsan	The elephant	Sakkawati or the universal monarch	Wazo.
8th	..	Saravun Dhanasiddha Sattabhissha	The pony	Sakka or Sakra	Wagaung.
9th	..	Pyuppābadrapaik Uttarābadrapaik Revatī	The egret	The Brahma	Tawthalin.

ဘုန်းဟောမြတ်စွာ။ ဦးညွတ်တွားခဲ့။ This refers to those stars described above bowing to Buddha.

ဘုန်းဟောမြတ်စွာ။ စောသတ္တာကို means “to the glorious and venerable Teacher.” သတ္တာ (Pāli) is a common epithet for Buddha, and it means “the Teacher.”

တိုင်းကားသက္က။ ကပ္ပိလကို။ မြို့ခိုးဝေခဲ့။ This passage gives a vivid description of the land-scapes on the way to Kapilavatthu for which Buddha was bound.

တိုင်းကားသက္က means “the vast territory of Sakka.”

ကပ္ပိလ or ကပိလ (Kapilavatthu) is the chief city of Sakka where Gotama Buddha was born.

ကြွရာလမ်းစဉ် means “the route taken by Buddha on His journey to Kapilavatthu.

စုံတခွင်ဝယ် means “through-out the forest-tract.”

ရွှေစင်မြသား။ ရွှေအလားသို့။ means like (the tinge or colour of) gold, silver and emerald.”

မနားတို့ချင် means “without any inclination or desire for a rest;” that is without any interruption. လွှင် in ပင်ထက်လွှင် means “to shine brightly.” The expression မနားတို့ချင်၊ ပင်ထက်လွှင် therefore means “continuous gleam of brightness on the trees and plants.”

လှော်စဦးစ။ This is a metaphor borrowed from smelting. The bright colour is compared to the colour of newly smelted and refined gold.

လေမြူးကြွ၍ means “a frolicsome gale springs up.”

မြမြှက်ဆွယ်။ တဝက်ချယ်နှင့်။ ခက်သွယ်တံရှည်။ This refers to the long slender branches and boughs tinged partly with green and partly with the colour of gold.

မြမြ means “emerald-green.”

မျှော်တိုင်းသည်လည်း means “at every gaze of the eye.”

နူးကြည်ဆွတ်ယောင်။ In this expression နူးကြည် stands for ကြည်နူး and it means “to be pleased with something” or “to experience feelings of pleasure.” ဆွတ် stands for လွမ်းဆွတ် and means “to long for” or “to yearn after.” ယောင် implies uncertainty. The whole expression therefore means

“the mind is in a state of uncertainty as to whether it should feel pleased and long for something or otherwise.”

ကြိုင်-လှိုင် and လှောင် (for လှောင်း) are synonymous terms meaning “to give out pleasant odour.”

တန်ဆောင်မီးလောက်။ ရှိန်ညီးတောက်၍။ လဲပေါက်ထိန်ဖြာ။ This refers to the red flowers of the *butea frondosa* from which a glowing light as bright as a burning torch spreads out. တန်ဆောင်မီး means “a lighted fire.” ရှိန်ညီးတောက် means “to burn or shine with a bright light.” လဲပေါက် for ပေါက်လဲ means the *butea frondosa*.

သဲခင်းသာဝယ် means “in a pleasant or delightful sandy ground.”

သီတာ means “a river.” ကြည်လဲ means “to be serene or clear,” and it refers to the water of the river.

နွဲ့ in ငှက်သံနွဲ့ means “endearing; melodious.”

လွင်းဘွဲ့မြိုင်ခြေ means “a forest tract which inspires one with longing.”

မြူးဝေး။ This means that the atmosphere is filled with mist. The last passage from တိမ်ခြေအောက် down to the end refers to the time at which the stars pay respect to Buddha. ကောဝိဋ္ဌါ or ကောဝိဋ္ဌါ (Bauhinia Variegata) is an emblematic tree said to grow in the *Tavatimsa* heaven. So the reference is to the sky above.

ပြပျံရောင်လျှပ် means the shining Pyuppâhadrapaik.

ဒေါင်းရဟတ်နှင့်။ ပြသော်ဆောင်ယဉ်။ This refers to the Sun. ဒေါင်း means “a peacock.” Here it is used as an emblem of the sun. ရဟတ် means “a wheel.” Hence ဒေါင်းရဟတ် signifies the sun. ပြသော် is derived from the Pâli ပါသော which means “a graduated turret.” ဆောင် means “to convey,” and ယဉ် (Pâli ယာန) means “a conveyance.” ပြသော်ဆောင်ယဉ် means “a conveyance surmounted by a graduated turret.” This also refers to the sun.

မြိုင်ယဉ်စဉ်မှာ means “when the sun and the Nakshatra Pyuppâhadrapaik appear side by side.”

ကညနာ (Pâli) means “gold.” နှစ် or အနှစ် means “pith or essence.”

မြရည် means “the water or colour of emerald.”

ရှင်ချစ်မြတ်စွာ။ လော်ကနာကို။ Is Buddha, the all loving Lord of the universe. လော်ကနာ from the Pâli လောကနာထော which means “Lord of the universe.”

မိုးမှာရွာကြယ်လဉ်တည်း။ Here the stars are represented as eggs laid by the moon.
Po Byu.

V

၅။ ။ အနတ္တရ။ တိလောကဟု။ သက္ကာယနိဗ္ဗာန်။ မာရဇိန်ကို။ ဣန္ဒြာသက္က။ ဒေဝသူရာ။ ဗြဟ္မာမကျန်။ ထက်သန်စေတနာ။ ဖူးကြလာသည်။ ကြက်လျှာတံခွန်။ ပန်းမန်ဆီမီး။ ထီးနှင့်တကွ။ ပူဇော်ကြ၏။ အာကာသပြင်။ ထက်ကောင်းကင်ဝယ်။ ပဘက်ရီ။ ရဝိစန္ဒ။ ဘောမဗုဒ္ဓ။ ဆရာဂုရု။ ဗရဂုသောရာ။ ဒေဝါသူရိန်။ ဘူမိန္ဒရာ။ ဂြိုဟ်ရှစ်ဖြာနှင့်။ အသာယုဇ္ဇ။ နရဓလျှင်။ မူလဇေဋ္ဌာ။ ဝိသာခါက။ ပုဏ္ဏာပြည့်မှီ။ ဘရဏီအာသဋ္ဌ။ သရဝဏ်မာဃ။ အသလိဿနှင့်။ နေသိဋ္ဌိ။ ကျတ္တိကာနတ်။ သတ္တမိသျှ။ ထွန်းပလျံညီ။ ရောဟဏီတည်း။ ရေဝတီက။ ဥတ္တရာရာဂု။ ဖုသျှလုကာ။ ကြယ်ပုဏ္ဏာတို့။ ယဉ်သာဘုံပျံ။ ယုန်မိမာန်ကို။ မြိရံဝန်းကာ။ ရောင်စုံဖြာသည်။ သဒ္ဓါဆွတ်ဆွတ်။ တာရာညွတ်၍။ နက္ခတ်အပေါင်း။ မြင်းခေါင်း ခုံလောက်။ ပုံဆောက် နှိုင်းဘွယ်။ ကြက်သူငယ်စု။ ကြယ်သုံးခုလျှင်။ ရုပ်တူညီစွာ။ ကျီးတာရာလည်း။ ဆိုင်ကာရွှေဦး။ နဂါးမြူး၍။ ထွန်းရှူးတိုက်

ဆိုက်။ ကြက်တိုက်လည်းကောင်း။ ကြယ်ဥဆောင်းလည်း။ လိပ်ခေါင်းလက်ဖျား။ ဟင်္သာနားက။ ပေါက်
သားမှန်အစ်။ ဂုဏ်ရည်သစ်စွ။ ခုနစ်ဖုသျှ။ သင်္ဘောစုထက်။ ရှစ်ချပြီးဝှန်း။ ကိုးလုံးလွန်သော်။ ဗုဒ္ဓန်ရင်ဆိုင်း။
ခြင်္သေ့ထိုင်သည်။ ဆယ်ပြိုင်ဆွဲတစ်။ ဆွဲနှစ်ရှေ့နေက။ လျှံတောက်ရှုန်းဘိတ်။ ဦးလည်ညိုတ်သား။ ကရ
ဝိတ်တွန်ကျာ။ ချိန်တာရာလည်။ ကြယ်အာဒိစ္စ။ ဟဿဒနှင့်။ စိတြမုနိ။ သွားဒါချက်ဘွေ။ ဆံကျင်ရွှေဝယ်။ ကု
ဝေယက။ ကုဘဏ္ဍနှင့်။ ဘုမ္မပြီးမြင့်။ တန်ခိုးလွင်လျက်။ ဝိုက်လင့်ပတ်ဖြာ။ ဝိသာခါနှင့်။ နုရာဓရွှေ။ ဇေဋ္ဌရွှေ
၏။ ဘုန်းဟေမြတ်စွာ။ စောသတ္တာကို။ ကြယ်တာရာများ။ ဦးညွတ်တွားခဲ့။ တိုင်းကားသက္က။ ကပ္ပိလကို။ ကြ
ရာလမ်းစဉ်။ စုံတခွင်ဝယ်။ ငွေစဉ်မြသား။ ရွှေအလားသို့။ မနားတို့ချင်။ ပင့်ထက်လွင်က။ လှော်စင်ဦးစ။ လေ
မြီးကြွ၍။ မြေရှက်ဆွယ်။ တဝက်ချယ်နှင့်။ ခက်သွယ်တရှည်။ မျှော်တိုင်းသည်လည်း။ နူးကြည်ဆွတ်ယောင်။
ကြိုင်လိုင်လှောင်၏။ တန်ဆောင်မီးလောက်။ ရှိန်ညှိုးတောက်၍။ လဲပေါက်ထိန်ဖြာ။ သဲခင်းသာဝယ်။ သီတာ
ကြည်လဲ့။ ငှက်သံနွဲ့နှင့်။ လွှမ်းညွှဲမြင်ခြေ။ မြို့ခိုးဝေခဲ့။ တိမ်ခြေအာကာ။ ကောဝိဇ္ဇာကံ။ ပြုပြီရောင်လျှပ်။
ဒေါင်းရဟတ်နှင့်။ ပြာသာဒ်ဆောင်ယဉ်။ ပြိုင်ယဉ်စဉ်မှာ။ ကညွနာနှစ်။ မြရည်သစ်သို့။ ရှင်ချစ်မြတ်စွာ။ လော်
ကနာကို။ တာရာစန္ဒ။ သူရိယတို့။ တုပ်ကွရိကျိုး။ ရောင်စုံပြီးသည်။ ။မိုးမှာရွှေကြယ်လပတည်း။

Sakyamuni triumphs over Mara and stands pre-eminent in the three-fold world. Sakra with a host of celestials and infernals bow in fervent adoration. They cast at His feet gifts of streamers and flowers and umbrellas and burn the sacred oil.

Eight planets greet the eye. The sun and the moon, Mars and Mercury, Jupiter and Venus, Saturn and Rahu swim in the sky. *Asavani*, *Anurâda*, *Mûla*, *Jetthâ*, *Withâkhâ*, *Barani*, *Athanhli*, *Saravun*, *Maghâ*, *Assalissa*, *Dhanasiddhâ*, *Kyattikâ*, *Sattabhiṣṣha*, *Rohani*, *Revati*, *Uttaraparaguni* and *Phussha* glimmer around the watery moon and seem to pant with holy ecstasy. As months come and go celestial fires fling lustrous beams close to the full-orbed moon. In *Thadingyut* and *Tazaungmon*, the crow shines in a line with *Asavani*, *Barani* and *Kyattikâ*. The *sheldrake* is seen face to face with *Rohani*, *Migasi* and *Badra* in the full-lit *Nadaw* sky. In *Pyatho*, *Punnaphussha*, *Phuṣṣha* and *Assalissa* appear in conjunction with the crab. During *Tabodwé* and *Tabaung*, *Libra* steers in the sky with *Magha*, *Pyubbapargunni* and *Uttaraparagunni*. On the full-moon night of *Tagu*, the *hair-pin* fronts *Hassada*, *Citra* and *Swâdi*. In *Kasôn* and *Nayôn*, *Withâkâ*, *Anurâdha* and *Jetthâ* shed their silvery beams. The rapt enchanted stars shoot their flames in pure adoration.

As the Teacher proceeds to Kappilawut the forest realm wears a robe of silver and gold and emerald. The frolicsome wind rustles the pendent leaves dashed with gold. The enraptured gazer is swayed by competing feelings of joy and longing. The air is laden with scent. The crimson splendour of *butea* blooms flames like a torch. Amber streams glide by silver sands. The fluting of the birds and the enfolding mist fill one with yearnings.

In the azure dome above, *Pyuppâbadrapaik* and the sun mingle their rays tinted with the colours of gold and emerald. Wonder seems to move in the starry spheres which render homage to the beloved Lord.

B. H.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

BUDDHISM AND BERGSONISM

AND

U SHWE ZAN AUNG VERSUS Dr. ROSS.

No one who has remarked Dr. Ross's periodical censures of every attempt to show that Buddhism is not synonymous with nonsense will be surprised to find that U Shwe Zan Aung, in reply to the latest edition of the strictures, tells us in effect that the Doctor knows nothing whatever about Buddhism. Either this is so, or else it is U Shwe Zan Aung who knows nothing about it. Is he or is he not an authority on his own religion?

At the beginning of the century Mrs. Rhys Davids translated a Buddhist Psychology. Not being in a position to find out the traditional meaning of the terms, she resorted—as others before her—to philological methods; the result was the kind of jargon which Dr. Ross evidently approves—not indeed as logic; but as free from “religious partisanship”! The author however did not approve of her own work; she felt that there must be something quite wrong somewhere and finally appealed to the Bhikkhu Ananda Metteyya, who happily suggested collaboration with U Shwe Zan Aung. The result was the *Compendium of Philosophy*. This book revolutionised the methods of Pali research and I think it safe to say that no western scholar of repute would now attempt a translation of the all-important *Abhidhamma* or other technical works without collaborating with someone on the spot—in Burma or Ceylon. U Shwe Zan Aung then inaugurated the new movement. He did not—as Dr. Ross would have his readers suppose—give us dogmatically high sounding philosophical terms (whose substitution in the older translations immediately made sense of them). On the contrary he collected a number of definitions, sentences, quotations in which the disputed terms appeared: he explained the traditional meanings to his English editor, who had formerly been a lecturer in philosophy. By this means a near modern equivalent of the Buddhist term was generally found; and together with this English rendering there was published a page or so of notes to show how the term should be understood in Buddhism. (For it will be evident that only by a rare coincidence could the technical terms of Buddhist and European philosophy have exactly the same meaning).¹

For this book then Dr. Ross had not a good word to say. But what we want is more of such work and still more, until the scholars of the West will be in a position to carry on the work by themselves. At pre-

sent there is too much unwritten knowledge of the subject in the East: the West is too heavily handicapped. It is a thousand pities that U Shwe Zan Aung's position in Government service gives him so little time for the one work above all others for which he is peculiarly qualified and in which the Burmese may teach the English scholar. It is perhaps a pity too that he should spend the few moments he still snatches for original research in seeing how much of Buddhism he can put into the language of Bergson. If he would go on telling us plainly and simply in the manner of the introduction to the *Compendium* more of the Buddhist Psychology and its technical terms, then there are many who could tell us how much of it is Bergsonian. We might be grateful to Dr. Ross himself for a paper on the subject. As it is he has spent his energies on the poor stuff which he takes Buddhism to be.

He contends (1) that in company with every considerable philosophy with the exception of Heracleitus and Bergson Buddhism regards fixity as the test of reality and change as the mark of unreality; (2) that the Buddhist *paññā* has nothing in common with Bergson's intuition: in fact that there is no evidence that the Buddhist ever "approached a theory of knowledge (like Bergson's intuition) which is to be lived rather than thought."

The second contention first:—Dr. Ross expresses the most intense astonishment that anybody should have imagined that there could be any likeness between *anicca* as the Sotapan understands it and true flux. It seems a pity to astonish him any further but I feel bound to tell him that no lesser person than Prof. Rhys Davids already held that view three years ago. I suggested to him that the true meaning of Sotapan—the stream-arrived-one—was that the disciple arrived at, realised flux: he ceased to think conceptual change and intuited real becoming. I take the traditional meaning to be secondary: the man who ceases to think in terms of entities, is bound to overcome the habit of craving such fictions, and so is certain of arriving at *Nirvāna*—the cessation of craving: he is as it were in the true stream which streams to *Nirvāna*.¹ Prof. Rhys Davids though not convinced, expressed himself interested in my point of view and he hastened to assure me that he did not doubt for a moment that the Sotapan' did as a matter of fact intuit flux; it was of my interpretation of the word that he was in doubt—a secondary matter after all.

What has Dr. Ross to say on the subject? He tells us that Buddhist change is a common succession of concepts—not real change at all: Bergson's change is the real thing. He wants us to believe that Bergson lives out his flux in contradistinction to the Buddha who merely fancied and talked change—all the time with the idea at the back of his head of a quite permanent and fixed ego as the essence of reality²—if only alas (*Dukkha*!) such an entity could really be! In the course of his

¹ Or rather so long as he craves (*tanha*) his immersion is incomplete.

² *Journal* Vol. VIII (1) p. 59.

disparagement of Buddhist pessimism the doctor indulges in some jest on "la vie Parisienne"; this picture of his "la vie Buddhistic" seems to me the better joke of the two.

Now what has the Buddha himself to say about his own life? Does he not say that "although the Tathagata make use of such expressions as I, You, He and so on, yet he is not led astray by them" into the thought of entities. In other words he was able to regard persons as processes all the time: whether he was talking, walking, standing or sitting he never lost the sense of flux—and that is why he was Buddha—the Enlightened One. And what has Bergson to say of his flux? How does he live it? He tells us that when he makes the utmost effort of which he is capable, for less than a second he enters true duration—*almost but not altogether!*

Dr. Ross has still one toe to stand on: he can still maintain that although the Buddha lived the duration he taught, yet his sense of duration was abstract, false. Now the Buddha tells us there is just one and only one way of making absolutely certain of this point for oneself; it is to practice Satipatthana—Mindfulness. If we stick to it then we shall know—though it may take us seven years! Why all this. If all that we have to acquire is intellectual picture of states succeeding each other? Are we not told quite plainly that this intuition must be transcendental? (*lokuttara not lokiya*)! However since Dr. Ross is determined to regard the Buddha's injunction to "enter into" or "penetrate" the reality as merely metaphorical he may be inclined to view this transcendental intuition as a like poetic piety. The Abhidhamma forestalls him: we are told that the disciple who seeks to enter the stream, must first free himself from the idea of mind or of matter as an entity, and then he must develop insight into "waxing and waning" "arising and passing away" until there comes to pass that "painless, pleasureless, utter purity of a mind wholly calmed and collected", which is called "Insight of Equanimity." From this there arises that "adoptive insight" by which the meditator fits himself with mental equipments and qualifications for the transcendental. This process of thought-transition is divided into four stages: (1) Parikamma when the dispositions are preparing themselves; (2) Upacāra, when they approximate to the transcendental or ultra-cosmic; (3) Anuloma, when they adapt themselves to the new mode of awareness; (4) Gotrabhu, when cosmic consciousness is cut off and the ultra-cosmic takes its place.

There can then be no getting away from the fact that the Buddhist intuition is not intellectual: it is transcendental. And now I foresee another objection. In pitting Bergson against Buddha Dr. Ross complains that the Buddhist flux is merely intellectual: yet in a former article when he was dealing with Buddhism alone he says: "Buddhists offer us nothing but certain alleged supranormal experiences of certain individuals, into which the scientist who uses his senses and intellect only cannot enter. The doctrine is thus not science in the sense of being

founded on "shareable"³ experience and derived from that by logical reasoning. There is nothing to distinguish it from any other wild phantasy." If this is not 'partisanship' that can only be because that is too mild a term! The fact is that when a man approaches oriental philosophy still inflated with his occidental learning and Buddhism with a superior sense of his Christianity then the Metistopheles of Prejudice takes him. And this applies not only to our learned doctor but to nearly all the western scholars and, I believe, all missionaries when they write about other religions, whether Buddhists about Christianity or Christians about Buddhism.

Now without actually performing Sati-patthana—the only certain way of really knowing its fruit let us see what would be the most likely result of such practice. Consider this extract:—"now this O Bhikkhus, is how the disciple observes thoughts. In experiencing thoughts he is fully aware of the thought experienced: There are thoughts—thoughts of lust, thoughts of anger—thoughts noble or base—or whatever they may be, so he abides as respect thoughts observant of thoughts, both in his own person or in the persons of others. He observes thoughts arising or observes them passing away, and again observes simultaneously the "arising" and the "passing away". "Feeling only is present—that alone is the experience".⁴ "Bearing this fact constantly in mind he comes to understand that the expression 'I think' has no validity except as a figure of common speech, but that there is literally no independent being, no "I" in any absolute sense, no permanent individual, no ego present who thinks; and so he lives unattached craving nothing whatsoever in the world".⁵

So it is when—what we must call—the 'coming to be' of a state is intuited as simultaneous with its ceasing to be, that the Buddhist intuition of flux is reached: the stream is won, when and only when the arising and passing away are seen to be one and the same process. The idea of a cinematographical succession of states, however rapid, must then have gone. So long as the idea of a discrete state is in my mind, I cannot possibly grasp its becoming and ceasing as simultaneous. They can only be simultaneous and ever present in true duration.

I find then that Bergson has discovered anew in the twentieth century A D the true change first intuited by the Buddha in the fifth century B. C.⁶ He has done more: he has applied that discovery to complex or wholly modern problems and he has expressed himself in such language that no follower of his could ever mistake abstract change for

³ A less just word could hardly have been chosen, since it is the Buddhist claim that all who will practice and stick to it will share the experience. If Dr. Ross wants more than a theoretical knowledge of Physics or any other science, it is just this laborious course of practical training which he has to submit to.

⁴ See word of Buddha and sermons.

⁵ From commentary.

⁶ He knew nothing of the Buddhist writings at the time; but on the publication of S. Z. Aung's Compendium; he himself wrote to the editor to express his recognition of a distinct likeness between the Buddhist and his own views—another person to astonish Dr. Ross!

true flux. Unfortunately the Buddhist layman's idea of *anicca* is almost invariably cinematographical. I do not see how the language of the Buddha's day could have expressed what Bergson has expressed. But if the Buddha at that time could not put flux into unmistakeable language he could and did tell one, what is a thousand times more important, how unfailingly to intuit flux. It is just here that Bergson fails; it is only for a second and only then by becoming unconscious of everything round about, that his method allows us to live the flowing. He has further to admit that the interest of this practice is purely metaphysical, it leads to no such practical result as the 'cessation of evil.' In the physical, mental and moral evolution of men he will have nothing to do with it. In the daily round he is as other men: he takes fleeting glimpses of becoming in his study: he is not *sotapanno*.

The fault which I find with U Shwe Zan Aung's essay is not that he raised the "stream-winner" to the height of a Bergson; but that he failed to show how the stream-winner excelled that remarkable philosopher. I can barely touch upon the subject here. In looking over the stories of the Buddha's attainment one notices that no enlightenment came so long as he reviewed personal histories—births and rebirths, his own and other peoples; but it came in the third watch of the night when, self-forgetful, he looked into the recesses of the mind, intent, watchful, unruffled, examining mental phenomena, their sequences, dependances and interrelations; observing the rise into being of this, the falling away of that: seeing together with the "coming to be" of one state the "passing away" of another; whilst all the while at the back of his mind insisted this question: "on what do the *Bhanes* subsist? From whence do they arise, how fall away, how come to cease? what being present are these also present? from the "coming to be" of what do there also 'come to be'?"

The stream-attainment is then given in these words: "coming to be!Becoming! Becoming! with that intuition there came a vision into facts not perceived before. Insight arose. Wisdom arose. Light arose."

Turning away from persons and their possessions to arisings and passings away he had broken the spell, the mesmerism of egos and things. He saw that there was nothing which was anything in itself or by itself, naught to be called a soul, no entity whatever,—only flux: he knew only the ceaseless flow of time, the rapid rippling of thought, the welling up and dying down of passion, the ebbing and flowing of life: *Samsara*, the ocean of "continual-going".

Was it then a mere meaningless confusion that the Buddha saw? without unity or continuity? No. Behind the 'becoming' which constitutes an individual existence he saw—not the self (the pure subject) which the intellect postulates to account in some inconceivable manner for the unity and continuity of being—but the Principle of the becoming

which constitutes it a continual and orderly process. The Buddha saw all life—the whole of samsara—to be a procedure by ‘mutual conditions’, a becoming ‘by way of dependant relations’, a ‘happening through invariable sequences’, and evolution according to law. The universal law of Karma, this the principle of the life-flow, the process of the Becoming: law not caused by inanimate nature”, not ordained by a “supreme Being”; neither brought about by aught subjective or objective but by the inter-relation between these two (*nama-rupa*) and essential to the continuity and continuing of all such relations.

The next point which the Buddha saw was that the cause of evil was simply ignorance of these facts—the true nature of life. It is only because we fail to intuit becoming and arrive at its Principle that there is any prolonging the dependant, the imperfect, the evil. This is the Buddhist “pessimism” which has so shocked the West! How does Bergson’s “*Joie de vivre*” compare with it? The second law of Thermodynamics⁷ persuades him that mind conquers only for a period in the history of a world-system: it ends crushed out by matter. He draws some consolation from the possibility of a very few of the elect transcending matter at some time; but the rest are doomed. In Buddhism Nirvana is the Goal which none can escape: the principle of Karma necessitates the eventual cessation of evil along every line of becoming. Who then is the more optimistic the Buddha or Bergson? The Buddha’s optimism appears to me to be complete and his reason for it is that he grasped the Principle behind the Becoming.

Here the question of the reality naturally arises. We experience an ever changing flow of presentations: every instant is different from the one that proceeded. The intellect can recollect them as a number of distinct snapshots: but they were not originally presented in this way, they were not as a matter of fact a number of distinct and isolated experiences: they were continuous with one another. How are we to explain that continuity? The intellect answers: “by stringing them onto one and the same ego: they are states of one self.” Thus as Bergson remarks, two immobilities are supposed to account for one mobility! The Buddha accepting for the sake of argument the analytical method⁸ shows not only that there is a succession of different objects presented, but a succession of different subjects to whom they are presented. The man who received punishment is not the identical one who committed the crime. “Then” says the intellect “he must be a different man: he must not be punished!” This is obviously nonsense: but where is the mistake? The mistake says the Buddhist lies in the notion of distinct and separate entities, the *atta*, the ‘*Ding an sich*’ the idea of that which in itself by itself is: the belief of “a reality”, that is all wrong. The fact is that there has been an unbroken process from the committer of the crime to

⁷ Dr. Ross so refers to life according to Bergson.

⁸ I believe this is what U. S. Z. Aung means by the Russellian side of Buddhism. But the analytical view is the natural view that the intellect always takes: I can see no reason to call it Russellian—unless it be that Russell is rather a bigoted and arithmetical analyst.

the recipient of the punishment. The recipient and the criminal are then neither different men nor the same man. Away with static intellect—and in with dynamic intuition!

The intellectual belief then in one's self, soul, or ego, as something in itself and separate from other selves is an illusion: it is only explicit in man and in some measure perhaps the higher animals; but it appears to me to be implicit in the whole struggle for existence in every creature in the whole wide world fighting for itself. The Buddha certainly regarded the 'I' (implicit or explicit) as the root cause of the whole of Samsara, of all evils, of all false passions, of going from birth to death and from death to birth again. It is not our business here to give his reasons for this opinion. What we should note is that the cause of all suffering existence is maintained to be an illusion.

The whole of Samsara then is an illusion: (1) because it contains no such an entity as the intellect demands in order to idolise it as a reality—this however would apply equally to Nirvana: there is no *atta* anywhere: (p) because that attitude to reality or life which appears to evolve suffering selves is false.

We cannot argue from this—as Dr. Ross does—that there are no *paramattha* Dhammas in Samsara. There are no selves who suffer, but one cannot argue from this that there is no real suffering. The self is not a *paramattha* Dhamma; but suffering, I take it, is. There are processes of suffering and that is why the Buddha preached. I may dream that a man attacked me: the man is an illusion: but the dream was an actual experience. Here then, contrary to Dr. Ross's first contention, we have ever-changing suffering the real or actual; and the fixed ego, the unreal non-existent.

The last point which we have to consider is whether Nirvana in any way corresponds to the idea of a fixed and changeless entity. In the first place the Buddha—so careful was he lest his followers should fall into that trap—never said what Nirvana was positively: he only said what it was not: Nirvana is not Samsara, so none of our words descriptive of Samsara will be applicable to Nirvana. Existence as we know it is conditioned: Nirvana is not. Samsara is craving, suffering, being born or dying: Nirvana is not—and so on. Samsara is also subject to change and decay; so one may find statements that Nirvana is not so subject. In the 'word of the Buddha' I find the interesting statement: Nirvana "is neither arising, nor passing away nor standing still": it is out of all relation to our mathematical-time-notion of either change or fixity. Once again a thing which changes, and a thing which throughout all time remains unchanged are fictions, utter absurdities. No such things can be.

There is still one absurd idea which people from the Buddha's day onward have tried to affix to Nirvana—the idea of nothingness. The meaning of the word is certainly cessation, implying blown-out or wiped-out—in short annihilation?—but of what? Indians who held by the soul theory, the *atta* doctrine, naturally called Buddha a nihilist:

to them he taught the annihilation of the soul. But, as regards that, all he taught was that there was no such thing. And as regards the other charge he says "Yes, certainly I teach annihilation; namely the annihilation of evil: the annihilation of suffering, craving, sin, disease and death" Is this why Europeans insist on calling him a pessimist?

Positively speaking then Nirvana is whatever is, when evil is not. And this which is, certainly is not nothing; but if we want to call it something, or the Reality, we must be very careful how we understand these terms. Later Buddhists in calling it *Paramattha*—a dangerous word—did use some such expression. It is perhaps safer⁹ to understand by this term the absolute, and so bring it in line with frequent utterances of the Buddha when he spoke of Nirvana as the unconditioned. When we adopt an erroneous subjective attitude to Becoming, then is *samsara*—conditioned existence—a process of evolving illusions and delusions—and in that sense unreal. The process of disillusionment is the Path: getting into the stream. When the right subjective attitude has been attained, disillusionment is complete, then is the cessation of evil, Nirvana—the unconditioned—the absolute, which is "neither arising nor passing away nor standing still."

K. M. WARD.

THE TWELVE-YEAR CYCLE OF BURMESE YEAR-NAMES.

To find the name of any given year, the author of the short but interesting article, "The Burmese Calendar" published *ante* Vol. I Part I, gives the following rule:—"Subtract two from the last figure in the date according to the Burmese Era, divide the last two figures thus obtained by 12 and the remainder is the number of the year in the above table."

Working on the above rule, Mr. Blagden finds that out of twenty-eight year-names in the inscriptions only four agree with the results obtained, and he questions its being a correct rule (Vol. VI Part II). Mr. Blagden's question may be met by saying that the author of the Burma Calendar has made a slip in stating the rule. It is probable that as is seen from an example in his article, the author has in view only those years in which the first two of four figures are 12 according to the Burmese era and in his desire, I believe, to make the calculation easy, he leaves out the first two figures which are divisible by 12 (because, by so doing, the calculation does not go wrong but becomes easier) and simply states "divide the last two figures thus obtained by 12," overlooking that the rule so stated cannot be applied to those dates the first two figures of which are neither 12 nor a multiple of 12. Hence the difficulties in reconciling the rule with the dates in the inscriptions, which do

⁹ I have not come myself across this term in this connection in any of the sermons. I first heard of this application of it from Prof. Maung Tin.

not begin with 12. But the difficulties disappear, if the above rule is rectified and stated thus:—

“Abstract two from the Burmese era, divide the remainder by 12, and the remainder thus obtained is the number of the year.”¹

The following table shows the number of the year, the year-name as entered in astrological works in Burmese and the year-name as recorded in inscriptions. (The year-names are transliterated according to the Transliteration scheme by M. Duroiselle. *Vide* Vol. VI Part II, pp. 81-90.)

No.	Astrological Name.	Name on Inscriptions.
1.	Jeyya, Citra	.. Cai, Cay, Jay, Jeyya, Jeñ, Citra, Cey.
2.	Wisākhā	.. Pisyak, Wisya, Pishyac, Bisyak.
3.	Jeṭṭha	.. Cissa, Jeṭṭha, Cisa, Jissa, Citssa, Cisyā.
4.	Āsaḥī	.. Āsat, Āsaddha, Āsaḥ.
5.	Sarawaṇ	.. Srawan, Sarawan.
6.	Bhadra	.. Bhadra, Bhat, Bhāt, Phassa, ² Phatta.
7.	Assayujja	.. Asuc, Āsin, Āsuk.
8.	Kyattikā, Krattikā	.. Krātuik, Kratuik, Kratikā.
9.	Migasī	.. Mrikkasui, Migasī, Mrikkasuiw, Mruik- kasuir, Mriksuil, Mrikkasuir.
10.	Phushya	.. Putsa, Pussa, Phussa.
11.	Māgha	.. Māgha, Mākha.
o	Bharaguṇṇī	.. Phalakuin, Phrakuin, Phalakuin, Phra-
	Phagguṇa	.. kuin, Phalakun, Phyakuin.

By this simple method, I have worked out 89 dates, ranging from 430 to 1145 Burmese era, in the inscriptions of (1) “Original inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya and now placed near the Patodawgyi-Pagoda, Amarapura, 1913”, (2) “Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava, 1892”, and (3) “Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma, Vol. 1, 1900”, and I find that in at least seven cases out of ten the result answers exactly to the year-name in the inscription. The table attached will show the results of my calculations, as obtained by the above rule.

I may mention that there is also an interesting article on this subject (Vol. VIII Part III) by Mr. de Silva who gives another rule from a work named Jotitatha, for ascertaining the name of the year. This rule from Jotitatha is a very complicated one: and we are not helped when we employ this rule or use the means provided by the author. As may be seen, the Burmese calendar is a simple mean time calendar and the process of calculation is an easy one. I am, therefore, inclined to think that the method of ascertaining any year is also an easy one, such as the one I have employed and the one from a work called Maha-Thingyan-

¹ *Vide* Beda-Weikza-Kozaungdwè Kyan (ဗေဒဝိဇ္ဇာဇောင့်ကျွန်း) p. 50, published Mandalay, 1269 B. E.

² See serial No. 31, 5th coloumn. The year 656 answers to a Bhadra year. The word *Phassa* looks more like an inscriptional name of the astrological name *Phushya* than of Bhadra. It may perhaps be a misreading for Bat (ဗတ်) which is the inscriptional name of the year Bhadra.

Twetkein (မဟာသက္ကရာဇ် ၅၈၆).³ Besides, designers of the Burmese calendar for the past years within our knowledge have worked out the year-names by the simple rule mentioned above and never by the rule from Jotitatha. Considering, therefore, the use of this simple rule for many years past and considering also the preponderance of cases where, for the dates running from 430 to 1145 Burmese era, the results obtained by the rule answer exactly the data of the inscriptions, it may be assumed that the simple rule given above was observed in Burma from the beginning of the present Burmese era onwards.

Now the existing era was introduced in 638 A. D. by Popa Saw Rahan, the twentieth king of Pagan, eliminating 560 years of the then current era beginning with year 2. And it appears probable that this establishment of the era in its own second year explains the "subtraction of 2 from the Burmese era" (as stated in the rule), while the remainder is divided by 12, because there are 12 years in the cycle, which progress in regular order.

But then how are we to make an adjustment of those year-names in the inscriptions which differ from the results given by the rule? Should they be classed "irregular"? I think these differences result mainly from mistakes made in the record of inscriptions and in few cases from the imperfect reading of dates which are always written in figures, except in inscriptions which are in Pali throughout where they are written at full length in words. Stone inscriptions in Burma were very imperfectly preserved and owing to their exposure to weather and to the effluxion of time, most of them have become obliterated. In some cases the stone has peeled off in such a way that what remain of figures 3 and 5 look like 2 and 6 respectively; and figures 4 and 6, as they are written in inscriptions, are so similar that one is easily read for the other. Consequently the reading of dates has very often, as those who are working on the inscriptions of Burma well know, proved a difficult task and a snare.

As to the mistakes in the inscriptions, it must be said that they are very rare in original inscriptions; but many a mistake are met with in those which are copied from original stones at a later date. *e.g.* Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda, Mandalay, Vols. I and II, 1897."

The above reasons will, I think, suffice to explain why there occur discrepancies between the data of inscriptions and results as obtained by the rule. There may be other causes which cannot yet be explained; but it is hoped that the simple rule by which very satisfactory results have been obtained will serve as a principle to work on in ascertaining the name of any year.

The subjoined table shows the serial number, the Burmese era, names of years and their reference in three respective volumes of inscriptions referred to above, and the astrological name which is the result,

³ *Ante* Vol. VIII, Part III, p. 264, bottom.

as obtained by the rule. Most of the dates in my test cases, as shown in the table, are from the "Original Inscriptions collected by king Bodawpaya, and now placed near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura"; the year name of the same date that cannot be found in either of the other two volumes or in both is left blank⁴ in its respective column.

Abbreviations in the following table:—

A—"Original Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya and now placed near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura."

PPA—"Inscriptions of Pagan, Piyna and Ava."

UB 1—"Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma, Vol. 1."

Serial No.	Burmese Era.	A		PPA		UB 1.		Result as obtained by the rule. (Astrological name).
		Name of Year.	Page and line.	Name of Year.	Page and line.	Name of Year.	Page and line.	
1	430	Bhass	9,1	..	..	..	..	Kyattikā
2	464	Āsan	15,2	..	..	..	..	Bhadra
3	467	Pisyak	11,16	..	..	..	..	Migasī
4	469	Māgha	18,1	..	..	..	..	Māgha
5	522	Jeyya	29,1	..	..	..	..	Āsaḥī
6	533	Cissa	37,6	..	..	..	..	Jetṭha
7	544	Pisyak	34,1	..	..	..	..	Wisākhā
8	559	Pisyak	39,1	..	..	..	..	Sarawaṇ
9	560	Bhadra	42,1	Bhāt	212,1	..	..	Bhadra
10	563	Cay	49,1	..	..	..	..	Migasī
11	565	Kratuik	50,3	..	..	..	..	Māgha
12	567	Cey	51,2	..	..	..	..	Citra
13	568	Pisyak	41,11	..	..	..	..	Wisākhā
14	578	Phalakuin	57,1	Phalakuin	149,1	..	..	Phaggaṇa
15	585	Kratuik	58,1	Asuc	58,1	Āsin	178,3	Assayujja
16	588	Pussa	61,1	Pussa	229,5	..	..	Phushya
17	590	Kratuik	62,1	Phyakuin	98,1	..	..	Phaggaṇa
18	591	Wisākhā	65,1	Cay	61,1	Cañ	183,5	Citra
19	593	Cissa	50,12	Jissa	174,1	Sitssa	184,2	Jetṭha
20	594	Āsat	50,15	Āsat	179,1	Āsat	187,11	Āsaḥī
21	598	Citsa	68,1	Cissa	100,7	..	..	Krattikā
22	598	..	..	Kratuik	181,1	Kratuik	195,1	Krattikā
23	599	Mrikkasui	69,2	Mrikkasuir	179,11	..	..	Migasī
26	603	Mrikkasuir	79,1	Cay	155,5	..	..	Citra

⁴ These blanks will be filled up in the next number of the Journal, if the dates required and their names are found in other printed volumes of inscriptions.

Serial No.	Burmese Era.	A		PPA		UB 1.		Result as obtained by the rule. (Astrological name.)
		Name of Year.	Page and line.	Name of Year.	Page and line.	Name of Year.	Page and line.	
25	610	Krātuik	86,2	..	..	Kratuik	340,1	Krattikā
26	621	Āsin	90,6	Āsin	106,1	..	..	Assayujja
27	624	Putsa	101,1	..	..	Pussa	300,1	Phushya
28	631	Srawan	110,1	Srawan	263,15	..	..	Sarawan
29	645	Āsin	125,1	..	..	..	..	Assaujja
30	653	Mriksuil	130,1	..	..	..	..	Jettha
31	656	Bhat	145,1	Phassa	123,16	..	..	Bhadra
32	659	Mrikkasuīl	139,1	..	..	..	..	Migasī
33	661	Āsat	143,1	Mākha	107,1	..	..	Māgha
34	664	Phussa	147,1	Pisyak	294,19	..	..	Wisākhā
35	666	Āsat	150,5	..	..	Kratuik	342,1	Āsalhī
36	674	Phrakuin	165,1	..	..	Cai	344,1	Phagguṇa
37	685	Mākha	178,1	..	..	..	..	Māgha
38	690	Āsat	184,1	..	..	..	..	Āsalhī
39	698	Phalakuin	191,1	..	..	..	..	Phagguṇa
40	710	Phrakuin	208,6	..	..	..	..	Phagguṇa
41	711	Cai	212,1	..	..	Cai	41,4	Citra
42	713	Bassa ⁵	222,3	..	..	..	..	Jettha
43	713	Jettha	225,1	..	..	..	..	Jettha
44	717	Āsuk	239,1	..	..	..	..	Assayujja
45	722	Phalakun	256,1	..	..	..	..	Phagguṇa
46	723	Cai	160,1	..	..	..	..	Citra
47	725	Cisa	264,1	..	..	..	..	Jettha
48	737	Cisa	286,1	Cissa	25,1	Cissa	29,16	Jettha
49	749	Bissa ⁶	321,1	Cay	331,11	Cissa	229,1	Jettha
50	755	Migasī	175,5	..	..	..	..	Migasī
51	760	Pisyhac	350,1	..	..	..	..	Wisākhā
52	791	Jay	377,1	..	..	..	..	Migasī
53	821	Migasī	406,1	..	..	..	..	Jettha
54	833	Āsan	412,1	..	..	..	..	Jettha
55	871	Jettha	427,3	..	..	..	..	Sarawan
56	1145	Jettha	450,7	..	..	..	..	Jettha

MAUNG HLA.

⁵ Mistake for Cissa. C (v) is wrongly read b (v) and the superscript i (°) of c appears to have been obliterated.

⁶ Wrong reading for Cissa. Cf. note above.

PALI POETRY—A REVIEW.*

In the *Dhammapada* the world at large has been long acquainted with one choice collection of Pāli poetry whose stanzas have been culled from the best pages in early Buddhist literature; and that world has signified its considerable appreciation of the same by the repeated translations of it that have been made into the languages of all the leading Western peoples. Now in this latest volume of the "Translation Series" which the Pāli Text Society publishes, it is introduced to another collection of Pāli poetry which, if not so select as the *Dhammapada*—seeing that it is not a picked bouquet of verse but a regular part of the Pāli Canon—yet possesses in another way an interest scarcely inferior to that of the better known volume of verse. For if here there is no continuous stream of edifying and elevated poetical discourse, there is what some possibly will more appreciate, a succession of swiftly drawn but vividly touched sketches of life in a long past age, among people long passed from this scene of things, but who, after all, are not so very different from us of to-day that we cannot in some measure share their feelings, and with them sometimes be grave and sometimes gay. Moreover, in these pictures we get occasional intimate glimpses of the daily life of one of the noblest and most lovable of the world's great ones, such that if for no other reason, this "Book of Kindred Sayings, with Verses" were well worthy the attention of all who admire greatness and would wish to come a little closer to it. As Mrs. Rhys Davids says in her very readable preface: "Short and terse as are the representations of both saying and episode, they contribute not a little to body out our somewhat vague outline of India's greatest son, so that we receive successive impressions of his great good sense, his willingness to adapt his sayings to the individual enquirer, his keen intuition, his humour and smiling irony, his courage and dignity, his catholic and tender compassion for all creatures."

Sometimes the great Teacher is found in converse with his intimate friend, King Pasenadi, where the King often seems to give as good as he gets. At other times, the Sage manages gently to hint to the king a possible improvement in his way of life. Non-human beings appear on the scene between whiles,—angels, as perhaps we should call them, who come to the Teacher to express their approval of him and his teaching, and to be answered by him in words that improve the occasion. Ascetics of other sects get their say and their answer. Proud Brahmins "come to scoff and remain to pray," as it were. Erring brethren of the Buddha's company are corrected, or when faint, encouraged in the good way they have chosen, by fairies of the woodland who seem zealous for the good name of the Master and his Order, and address the weak Brother in

* The Book of the Kindred Sayings (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*), or Grouped Suttas. Part I, Kindred Sayings with Verses (*Sagāthā-Vagga*), translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, M.A. assisted by Sūriyagoda Sumangala Thera. Published for the Pali Text Society by the Oxford University Press, London, 1918. Price, ten shillings.

verses of such power that, as the record says, "that Brother, stirred up by the Deva, was greatly moved." More than once the sound good sense displayed in these verses, is fully appreciable by us even at this day.

For example, a certain Brother named Kassapa whose habit it is to withdraw for meditation to a wood alone, is one day disturbed by a hunter in pursuit of a deer, and turning on the man, upbraids him for the cruel nature of the calling by which he earns his living. Thereupon a woodland deity appears on the scene and sets the Brother right thus:—

Comes stalking in the fastness of the hills
A silly trapper dull of intellect:—
Sheer waste of time to admonish such as he!
Methinks the Brother doing so is foolish.
The man nor hears nor understands. He looks,
But nothing sees! Thou mayst recite the Norm,
But never once the fool wake to his good.
Nay, wert thou here to hold up torches ten,
O Kassapa, still he would never see
The things he ought: 't is eyesight that he lacks.

The labour of fitting these Pâli stanzas with English words that will convey to a modern mind something at least of what the original words conveyed to those who first heard them two thousand years ago, is no slight one; but our translator has largely overcome the many difficulties in her way. Here is one of her happiest efforts. It is also, after its fashion, one of the happiest things in the Pâli original. That readers may be able to savour somewhat of its quality, even though ignorant of the language, we venture here to quote it entire along with a word for word interlinear translation, in case they may also like to see what a translator from the Pâli has to do in working up his raw material. The poem is entitled: *Kindada* that is: *Giver of What?*

<i>Kindado</i>	<i>balado</i>	<i>hoti?</i>	<i>Kindado</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>vaṇṇado?</i>
What-giver	strength-giver	is?	What-giver	is	beauty-giver?
<i>Kindado</i>	<i>sukhado</i>	<i>hoti?</i>	<i>Kindado</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>cakkhudo?</i>
What-giver	happiness-giver	is?	What-giver	is	sight-giver?
<i>Ko ca sabbadado hoti?</i>	<i>Tam me akkāhi pucchito!</i>				
Who and all-giver is?	That to me announce, asked!				
<i>Annado</i>	<i>balado</i>	<i>hoti.</i>	<i>Vatthado</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>vaṇṇado.</i>
Food-giver	strength-giver	is.	Clothing-giver	is	beauty-giver.
<i>Yānado</i>	<i>sukhado</i>	<i>hoti.</i>	<i>Dīpado</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>cakkhudo.</i>
Means-of-movement-giver	happiness-giver	is.	Lamp-giver	is	sight-giver.
<i>So ca sabbadado hoti yo dadāti upassayaṃ.</i>					
He and all-giver is	who gives dwelling.				
<i>Amataṃ</i>	<i>dado ca so hoti yo dhammaṃ anusāsati.</i>				
Deathlessness	giver and he is who Doctrine teaches.				

It is easy to imagine the child who first sat down to learn by heart this simple rhyme, tripping off his tongue with much enjoyment its jingling *do's* and *da's*, and at the same time, without knowing it, imprinting on his memory some things which his teachers may possibly have found it difficult to fix there in any other way. Here is Mrs. Rhys Davids' rendering of the little poem.

What doth he give who giveth strength?
Or he that giveth comeliness?
What doth he give who giveth sight?
Or he that giveth happiness?
Who all doth give, what giveth he?
Asked art thou: declare to me.

He giveth strength who giveth food.
Who giveth gear gives comeliness.
He giveth sight who giveth lamp.
And he it is gives happiness
Who giveth means to move. Whoso
Doth give a dwelling giveth all.
Who in the Norm doth give instruction, he
Giveth the gift to be from death set free.

Over the page from these verses is a set of lines which possess a pathetic interest, for they are also to be found placed at the beginning of the volume as its dedication, being inscribed: To My Beloved Son;—the son of Dr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids, as some in Burma perhaps may already know, having been a young airman who now lies buried in French earth. Here are the mother's lines from the Pâli in which she commemorates that young life lately passed like so many another beyond all human sight and hearing.

'Straight' is the name by which that Road is called;
And 'Free from Fear' the land for which thou'rt bound.
Thy chariot is the 'Silent Runner' named,
With wheels of Righteous Effort fitted well.
Conscience the Leaning-board; the Drapery
Is Heedfulness; the Driver is the Norm,
I say, and Right Views they that run before.
And be it woman, be it man for whom
Such chariot doth wait, by that same car
Into Nibbāna's presence shall they come.

One of the most satisfying things about our translator's renderings is that where need is to make the meaning clear, she does not hesitate boldly to incorporate with her text the cognate part of the commentary. Such procedure requires no apology when dealing with a language like

Pâli of a long past day whose ways of thought and expression are in many respects alien to us, or at least, unfamiliar. In Pâli verse often, we seem to have under our eyes not so much a language as a collocation of ideograms which doubtless conveyed perfectly clear and definite ideas to those who first wrote and read them, but to us of another clime and era, are simply conundrums in the absence of help from some commentator of a day nearer to those days than ours. Needless to say, a scholar of Mrs. Rhys Davids' eminence, is fully informed of all that Buddhaghosha, the Chief of Commentators, has to say about these verses and everything connected with them, and gives us the full benefit of her wide knowledge both in her renderings and in the illuminating notes with which her pages are strewn.

In one of these notes, on page 77, there is an amusing storyette from the Commentary about a poor Deva who has been hugely enjoying Paradisal life under a tree in whose branches nymphs have perched themselves, and soothe his half-waking dreams with song and down-flung showers of blossom. Suddenly the Kamma, the "doing" that has brought these nymphs to this bower of delight, comes to an end, and a sequence of unhappy Kamma comes into action which hurries them off to a purgatorial world. Our Deva, missing their Heliogabulian attentions, wakes wholly, sees that his attendants are gone, perceives also to what an unhappy fate they have fallen, and comes to the Buddha with the bitter complaint (which forms part of the verses of the text) that what he had expected had not happened, and what he had never looked for had come to pass; and he pitifully enquires of the Buddha if he knows of anything to mend his trouble. But the Buddha, as for men, so also for gods and sons of gods, has but one remedy. He says:—

Save for high wisdom's modes, by ways austere,
Save by restraint of powers and faculties,
Save by renouncing, by forsaking all,
No safety do I see for living things.

"And" concludes the narrative with sardonic humour, "the Deva vanished there and then." He has heard enough. Renunciation is no popular doctrine with godlings any more than with men.

The speech of another Deva who however, does not draw near the Buddha to complain but to utter praise, is pleasantly rendered in these verses:—

How many things light up the world and make it bright and clear?
To ask this question, Sir, we've come. Thy word we fain would hear.

Four things give light unto the world; a fifth ye'll not descry.
By day the sun doth shine; by night the moon makes bright the sky.
And fire gives light by day and night, shining now here now there.
But of all things that shine, as best: light of the Buddha stands confessed,

Glory without compare.

The Buddha as an advocate of slaughter will come to many with a shock of surprise. Here are the verses in which another Devaputta (son of the gods) tells about that slaughter,—verses, however, in which the believers in big battalions will not find overmuch satisfaction.

What must we slay if we would happy live?
 What must we slay if we would grieve no more?
 What is't above all other things whereof
 The slaughter thou approvest, Gotama?

Wrath must ye slay if ye would happy live.
 Wrath must ye slay if ye would grieve no more.
 Of wrath, victor of Vatra, with its source
 Of poison, and its climax murderous sweet:—
 That is the slaughter by the Ariyans praised,
 That must ye slay if ye would weep no more.

But it is not as an associate of gods or godlings that Gotama of the Sakyas will interest us most: we shall much prefer to see him in the simple relations of man to man; and it is in such relations that we chiefly find him, presented in the "Kosala" section of the book. Here he is shown us in the intimate intercourse of friend with friend, exchanging opinions and comment with Pasenadi, King of Kosala, a territory neighbouring that which would have been his own, had he not rather chosen to be lord over men's hearts and minds than over a few thousand acres of soil.

One day, so these pages tell, King Pasenadi visits his ascetic friend, having risen from a table where he has dined so freely on a favourite dish that he puffs and pants with repletion as he takes his seat before one whose "dinner" has probably consisted of a dish of juggery, honey, ghee, and sesamum oil, all boiled together into a sort of treacle, accompanied by a drink of fruit juice. We can picture without difficulty the Buddha eyeing his panting royal friend with an eye in which there is more than a gleam of raillery, as he utters the verse:—

For sons of men who ever mindful live,
 Measure observing in the food they take,
 Lessened for them becomes the sway of sense,
 Softly old age steals on, their days prolonged.

The king takes the hint in good part, and tells his son behind him to pay close attention and commit to memory the stanza, and recite it to him every day when dinner is brought in. At the same time he gives orders that only a certain moderate measure of rice is to be served him at each meal. And later, so the record says, he has occasion to comment on his greatly improved physical health, all due to observing his friend's counsel; and enthusiastically he declares that the Buddha's re-

commendations are good in affairs temporal no less than in matters eternal.

On the following page, under the heading: "Two Sayings about War," there is something that may or may not be apposite to present world-circumstances, but is worth mention in passing.

Pasenadi, it seems, has been defeated in battle by his and the Buddha's old ill-wisher, Ajatasattu of Magadha. And when the Bhikkhus (whom Mrs. Rhys Davids, with no just provocation that we can see, calls 'almsmen') come and tell their Master what has happened, he remarks that King Pasenadi, a defeated man, that night will lie down in misery; and utters the verse:—

Conquest engendereth hatred, for he who is conquered is wretched.
Happiness is to the stilled, who have finished with winning and losing.

But later on, so the prose part of the narrative relates, the two kings meet again in battle, and this time Pasenadi is completely victorious and takes from his captured enemy his entire army, leaving him only his life. Hearing of which from his 'almsmen,' the Buddha utters the verses:—

A man may plunder as may serve his ends;
But when that others take to plundering,
Then, plundered, he will plunder back again.
The fool thinks: "Now's my opportunity!"
Whenas his evil is not come to fruit.
But when his evil deed is come to fruit,
Ah! then the fool knows what is suffering.
Thus through the evolution of the deed,
The man who spoils is in his turn despoiled.

Further along in this "Kosala" section, we find King Pasenadi asking his friend one day what kind of gift yields most good fruit. The Buddha replies by asking the king what he would do if, mustering his army, he found he had got among his men a youth who was of the noble-men class but was unskilled in arms, timid of nature, and likely to run away in battle,—would he keep a man like that? would such a man be of any use to him? The king replies that he would not have such a man, that he would not be of any use to him, even if he did belong to the noblemen class.

Then the Buddha asks him if he would keep a man for his army who was well trained, courageous, and not likely to run away in battle, no matter what was his rank, even if he were a common labourer. The king replies that he certainly would keep such a man, that he would be just what he wanted in his army. Whereupon the Buddha, first of aristo-democrats, tells his friend that it is the same in his system of training; and speaks the verse:—

As prince engaged in war would keep that youth
 In whom he saw good bowmanship displayed
 And supple energy; and would not choose
 On ground of rank, one craven and unfit;
 So would the wise do reverence to him
 Who, though of lowly birth, led noble life
 Of self-control and magnanimity.
 Let givers pleasant hermitages make.....
 Let them with candid trusting heart bestow
 Victuals and water and dried meats and gear
 And lodging on the men of upright mind.....

so doing, they will have abundant fruit of their gifts, conclude the verses.

And in the last talk between these two friends recorded in this section, the ascetic reminds the king, with almost evangelistic fervour, of the central point of his teaching. He asks him what he would do were he to be told some fine day that a great enormous mountain was moving forward upon his realm from each of the four quarters of space, crushing and destroying every living being in its track. And he goes on to tell the king that such a destroying agency is actually now moving down upon him and every creature alive, the crushing mountain of old age and death; and concludes his talk with the verses:—

As when huge mountain crags, piercing the sky,
 Advance in avalanches on all sides,
 Crushing the plains east, west, and north and south,
 So age and death come rolling over all.
 Noble and brahmin, commoner and serf,
 None may evade or play the truant here.
 Th' impending doom o'erwhelmeth one and all.
 Here is no place for strife with elephants,
 Or chariots of war, or infantry,
 Nay, nor for war of woven spell or curse,
 Neither may golden bribes buy off that day.
 Wherefore let him, the keen discerning man
 Of active mind, to his own good attend,
 In Buddha, Norm, and Order place his trust.
 Who doeth right in deed and word and thought,
 Here winneth praise, and bliss in life to come.

It is rather interesting to meet in these pages with the prototype of Lear and Père Goriot. On page 222, under the heading, "The Millionaire, or The Shabby Cloak," we are told of an unhappy brahmin who pays the Buddha a visit, and being asked why he looks so hard bestead and wears such a coarse cloak, replies that his four sons and their wives have turned him off, and he is now under the necessity of begging his daily food from others' doors. So true is it that on the stage

of the world-play the same old characters are always present; only they are played by new actors.

A touch of the quiet humour characteristic of the Buddha at times, meets us on page 219. He has been upon his usual morning begging round to the door of a certain brahmin three days in succession. On the third morning, the brahmin testily remarks: "A pertinacious person is this friar Gotama. He comes back again and again." Whereupon the "pertinacious person" sasys in verse, or is made to speak so by the chronicler:—

Again, again is seed in furrow sown,
 Again, again the cloud-king sends his rain,
 Again, again the ploughman ploughs the fields,
 Again, again corn comes into the realm,
Again, again do beggars go their round,
Again, again do generous donors give,
 Again, again when many gifts are given,
 Again, again the donors find their heaven.
 Again, again the dairy folk draw milk,
 Again, again the calf its mother seeks,
 Again, again we tire and toil anew,
 Again, again the dullards seek rebirth,
 Again, again do birth and dying come,
 Again, again men bear us to the grave.

But once the man of insight broad that Path
 Which brings no new becoming doth attain,
 Then is he no more born again, again.

And thus that brahmin is well answered,—so well answered, indeed, that forthwith he becomes a follower for life of him who had begged from him "again and again."

And now—reversing nursery practice—having dispensed his jam first, the conscientious reviewer has to come to the administering of the powder. It is with diffidence that one ventures to call in question the judgment of a learned lady like Mrs. Rhys Davids, but the question will not down: Is the five-foot iambic English verse the best fitted to represent the four-foot measure which is that of the great majority of these poems in the original Pâli? It is much to be doubted. There is a lightness, a lilt about the four-foot Pâli line that is entirely lost in a translation into five-foot verse. It cannot be helped: It is inherent in the nature of the verse. Even in the hands of a master who knows all the tricks of the trade and make fullest use of them, there is a heaviness, a slowness about English iambic verse which is in acute contrast to the ripple and run of good four-foot lines. Even Tennyson, master of his craft as he was, and resorting to every device he knew—and he knew them all—to make his five-foot lines march, seldom succeeds in getting them to do

more than shuffle forward; only at times, in response to his efforts, do they assume a forced and artificial animation. There is nobody to-day except may be a few boarding-school misses, if even they, who would not a hundred times rather read of Arthur and his knights in Malory's brave prose than in Tennyson's blank, often, very blank verse.

Let us illustrate; for "to those of understanding many a difficult matter is made clear by means of an illustration."

On page 166 we have these lines of our translator:—

Once born we die. Once born we see life's ills—
The bonds, the torments and the life cut off.
The Buddha hath revealed the Norm to us—
How we may get beyond the power of birth,
How we may put an end to every ill.
He brought and stablished me upon the Truth.
They that are born in worlds material,
And they that dwell in immaterial heavens:—
If they know not how they may end it all—
Are goers, all of them, again to birth.

And here is a translation which corresponds line for line with the original, and is in the same measure as that original:—

The born are doomed to certain death.
The born see griefs and sufferings,
Bonds, tortures, and death-dealing stroke,
Wherefore I take no joy in birth.

The Buddha hath the Doctrine taught
How we may pass beyond all birth
And leave behind all suffering:
He hath me stayed upon the Truth.

Who come to birth in worlds of form,
Who come to birth in formless worlds,
They know not, they, the end of all,
They pass again to birth-and-death.

With all respect to Mrs. Rhys Davids we submit that there can be no two opinions as to which of these is the superior verse-form wherein to present Theri Cāla's stanzas to English ears. It is true that this happens to be a comparatively easy example to translate line for line and in the same metre, into English. In many other cases the close-packed terse Pāli might require two four-foot lines in English for the one of the original, to give all its meaning; but even so, the four-foot measure seems the only appropriate vehicle to carry over into English the lightness and flow of the Pāli. The Pāli lines, each as a rule containing a single statement rounded and complete, give to each whole poem an air

of neat compactness and finish which does not appear at all in a translation into five-foot lines where the meaning is frequently broken off through the line coming to an end, and carried over to be finished as likely as not, in the middle of the next line. This practice is quite permissible in ordinary English blank verse; it is indeed one of the devices resorted to in order to relieve the inevitable tedium of lines that are too regularly regular; but it only too effectively disguises and conceals, and so fails to do justice to, what is one of the main beauties of Pali verse.

A few minor defects in the volume are to be noted. On page 49 and also on page 50, there is a line in which a foot is missing of the metre; and on page 193 there is a line that has a foot too many. On page 54 the last word of the text ought surely to be "what" in place of "this"? Otherwise the sentence concerned is not rightly a question.

And could the great Teacher ever fall so far from his wonted dignity as to use such a word as "jabber," which he is made to do on page 297? Would not "babble" serve the turn equally well?

"Slacker," also, and "doping," and "reckoned" as a synonym for "were considered," which appear on pages 280, 279, and 282, in text and notes, respectively, are not yet admitted to the rank of book English.

These are trifling things to mention; but where a book is so good and in every way so well got up as this, it might as well be made a little better by holding to King's English right through to the final page.

For a last word: If there are any in Burma who, having done their duty by the pagodas, now would like to do similarly by the religion, a commendable method might be to send a little encouragement in the shape of a cheque to the Pāli Text Society, of which the translator of this valuable volume is the ever-busy moving spirit, so that she may be enabled to bring out in good time in collaboration with Prof. Maung Tin a translation, accompanied by the authentic Pali text, of that compendium of Buddhist practice, the Visuddhi Magga. Almost entirely unaided, for many years Mrs. Rhys Davids and her husband have been managing the business of the Pāli Text Society, bringing out reliable texts of the Buddhist Writings, so that the Western world may not lack a knowledge of them. And within the last ten years she has embarked upon the enterprise of bringing out reliable English translations of important Pāli works, and has herself done much of the difficult and onerous labour of making these translations, inspired by nothing but her interest in, and enthusiasm for, the good work. It would be a graceful thing to give her a little heartening from this Buddhist land, in the task she has taken upon her as pure labour of love, by relieving her of some of the necessity of looking about for funds wherewith to meet the constantly increasing costs of paper and labour for the printing of these volumes. *Dhammadānaṃ sabbadānaṃ jināti*. The gift of the Dhamma is the greatest of all gifts, and those who take any kind of part in it make the richest merit of all men.

BURMESE NOVELS.

5—MYA GALE:* *by the author of Maung Hmaing, etc.*

Some considerable time has elapsed since the receipt of this book for review from the Editor of the Journal of the Burma Research Society. It would be kinder, perhaps, both to the author and to readers of the Journal to leave it unreviewed but the arrival of a peremptory reminder has withdrawn the case from the court of Justices Pity and Procrastination and judgment must at length be passed upon Mya Gale.

The sole virtue of the story is the easy narrative style which we have come to take for granted in all Burmese novels.

Pamela Mya Gale (it is curious that the author seems ignorant throughout of her first name; independent sources of information leave no room for doubt that it was Pamela) was an obscure maiden living in Ava somewhere near the palace. Her mother was dead and her father was a pious foolish old man. She spent most of her time—for she was very beautiful—in repelling the advances of various *wuns* and other gentlemen of the period, for postage stamp collecting was then an unknown hobby and a complete and well equipped harem was the general object of ambition. All of her wooers were treated to dull and lengthy lectures far exceeding anything the English Pamela ever accomplished. Women were naturally her enemies. After she became a maid of honour the whole palace *gynaceum* was continually plotting against her, until an extremely credulous king ordered her to be trodden by elephants. A wearier lot however awaited, and the elephants refused to tread on her. She then spent sometime as a nun, but lest she should lose her faculty of lecturing, a venerable monk fell in love with her and had to be dealt with. Some of her old lovers, too, found out her hiding place and came hanging round. After the death of the principal queen the king remembered her and elevated her to the throne. The plotting started again but she is still queen at the end of volume I.

It is well known that the commercial novel runs on for as many volumes as the reading public may demand. Quite conceivably, a second volume of Mya Gale may be on the market. For people have to read something and Mya Gale may have been a welcome change after the weariful four-volume blackguardism of Maung Hmaing. Better books than either have appeared since and will continue to appear. The Burmese novel may not be a very high form of literature but it is a living literature of sorts.

Mya Gale, as has been said, is a palace novel. The palace convention has been as much of an obsession as the pastoral convention in the literature of other countries. The long sub-title or advertisement of the wares within which appears on the outside cover of such

* Rangoon : Brahmavati Press, 1912. An earlier edition was printed by the Tainglon Zabu Press, Rangoon 9th December, 1904—*Editor*.

novels, invariably claims to educate the reader in polite and oily language—to give an unsympathetic and possibly inaccurate translation. As there is no danger nowadays of being put under a mat and trodden by elephants the need for this sort of language is not great. And even in the old days the efficacy of the polite and oily style seems to have been exaggerated. In spite of Mya Gale's accomplishments in the talking line, the king ordered her to the elephants. Possibly if the elephants could have understood her they would have trodden on her a little.

J. A. STEWART.

6.—*Maung Hmaing*: Part III, by U Maung Gyi, Rangoon, Kavin-dāsiri Press, Waso 1267 B. E.

A wearisome continuation of the same tale of the doings of a neurotic flirt in the days of polygamic Burma. This volume like its predecessors has no other value than that of fine language in the mouths of the many lovers.

—Editor

Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, 31st March, 1918-9. (The Lineage of Kyanzittha).

One of the most important points of controversy in Burmese history is the lineage of Kyanzittha, the famous King of Pagan. Mr. Taw Sein Ko discusses it in the Report under review, and on the strength of two extracts from Arakanese manuscripts decides that the Vesāli from where Anawrata obtained the Princess Pañca-Kalyāṇī, the disputed mother of Kyanzittha, is not in India but in Arakan and that the Princess "is no other than the prosaic Arakanese Princess Hti Hlaing Pru." We confess ourselves unable to agree to this. History for history why should these two extracts from Arakanese manuscripts have greater validity than the Hmannan Yāzawin and other Burmese chronicles? We want very strong evidence before we demolish Burmese History. One reason assigned by Mr. Taw Sein Ko for the improbabilities of Mr. Duroiselle's theory (virtually the same as that of the Burmese histories) that Kyanzittha's mother was an Indian Princess is "the distance between Pagan and Central India, together with the absence of facilities of communication, social intercourse and of a common language" (p. 15). There was a difference of only seven years between the death of Anawrata (1077 A. D.) and the ascension of Kyanzittha (1084 A. D.) and yet the following paragraph of the Report treats of 'Intercourse of Pagan with Northern and Southern India', how 'Kyanzittha sent a mission to India with funds for the restoration and endowment of the temple at Bodh Gayā', i. e., in Majjhima-desa (Central India), from where the Princess Kalyāṇī came to be Anawrata's Queen. This we think is sufficiently self-contradictory. We do not maintain that there is no Vesāli in Arakan. But the mere fact that a Vesāli has been identified in Arakan is no reason why a Princess should not come from Vesāli

in Central India (Majjhimadesa, definitely stated in the Burmese chronicles). In identifying a town due regard should be attached to the country where it is situated. In putting forward the theory that the Vesāli in question is in Arakan and not in Central India, Mr. Taw Sein Ko as not taken Central India into account. Will Mr. Taw Sein Ko disbelieve that a Princess—let us suppose—was educated at Cambridge, England, simply because some American friend gives documentary evidence of the existence of a Cambridge in America?

Mr. Taw Sein Ko has also disregarded the name of the Princess. Pañca-kalyānī, the beautiful Indian name is consigned to oblivion in favour of Hti Hlaing Pru, the name of the Arakanese Princess mentioned in the aforesaid extract. The name of the Princess has been changed together with her nationality. The extracts also refer to the invasion of Arakan by Anawrata, a fact not corroborated by Burmese history. However that may be, both Mr. Taw Sein Ko and Mr. San Shwe Bu, Honorary Archaeological Officer for Arakan suggest that the silence of the Burmese historians is to be attributed to the failure of the invasion. If so, it would be difficult to believe how the King of Vesāli could have presented his daughter to an invader who did not meet with success. The whole allusion to the invasion is not convincing at all.

In showing these improbabilities in Mr. Taw Sein Ko's theory, we do not wish to be understood to place implicit faith in the Burmese Chronicles. But before such time-honoured traditions are brushed away as so much cob-web we should like to sift the arguments against them. The wisest plan is to with-hold one's opinion until Mr. Duroiselle has visited Vesāli in Arakan.

Editor.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS
RECEIVED SINCE AUGUST 1918, Vol. VIII, Part II.

1. **Die Republication in den indianischen, indonesischen und indogermanischen Sprachen, von Prof. Dr. Renward Branstetter, [1917].**
2. **Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1918.**
3. **The Indian Antiquary, April and May 1918.**
4. **The Progress Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year, 1917-18.**
5. **The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XLVIII, 1918—January to June.**
6. **The Annual Progress Report (abridged) of the Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1918.**
7. **Journal of the East India Association, October, 1918.**
8. **Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Part I, 1916-17.**
9. **Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1918.**

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Mr. J. A. Maung Gyee, Barrister-at-law was duly elected a member on 25th September, 1918.

Mr. J. C. Mackenzie, I.C.S. took over charge of the duties of Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer from the Editor on 27th September, 1918.

EDITOR.

Ordinary Meeting.

THE GREATER TEMPLES OF PAGAN.

By Mr. G. H. Luce.

An ordinary meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at the Rangoon College on Thursday night when a paper entitled "The Greater Temples of Pagan" by Professor G. H. Luce of the Rangoon College was read.

Mr. M. Hunter presided and there was a good attendance. In the absence of Professor Luce on military duty in India, Professor Ward read the paper, illustrating the subject by means of photographs and sketches, which proved of great interest. The paper is printed in the present number of the Journal.

Dr. Gilmore said he wished to say something which though not having to do with the paper he thought was interesting. Rev. Dr. Strong after returning from his visit to Pagan remarked to him that the temples in Pagan were erected about the time when Cathedral buildings in Europe started. This he (speaker)¹ thought was a coincidence which was interesting, and that was why he had made mention of it.

The Bishop of Rangoon inquired as to the cause of the difference in style of architecture between the Ananda and the That-byin-nyu. Did Mr. Ward know who the architects were? Were they Indians or what races did they belong to?

Mr. Ward said that a good deal of Indian art was in evidence, particularly in the That-byi-nyu, but the Ananda was more Burmese in style. He could not say who the architects were or whether they came from India.

Mr. Ross thought that some of the temples were peculiarly shaped, and reminded one of Singalese, Indian or Chinese temples.

Mr. Harvey inquired as to whether Mr. Ward could tell them whether the architecture of these temples was efforts of one master mind or the result of the townsfolk; whether they were the efforts of one leading spirit, who was inspired by the people?

The Bishop of Rangoon said that he has visited Pagan and thought that the Ananda Temple was the most beautiful.

Mr. Ward said that those who had studied the temples closely thought that the That-byin-nyu was the finest. The Ananda was kept better and that accounted for its outward appearance. But the Bishop probably saw the That-byin-nyu when it had not received its usual clearing and looked dark and dismal.

The chairman in closing the meeting said the thanks of the society were due to Mr. Luce for his interesting paper and they all hoped that when he returned from India, he would be able to enlighten them more on the matter. Thanks were also due to Mr. Ward for his trouble in connection with the illustrations and explaining the paper. This was the first time that anything in the way of illustrating a paper had been done at their society meetings, and he hoped it would not be the last. An attempt had been made to give notice of this and open the meeting to the public, but this was not done. He regretted to see that more of their Burmese members had not attended.

The meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks for Mr. Luce, Mr. Ward and the chairman.



62

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